THE ABC OF NM'S 15 + 15 PLAN

NEW MASSES

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ATOMIC ENERGY:

PLENTY FOR THE MILLIONS—

or

POWER FOR THE FEW?

by

VIRGINIA GARDNER

BEHIND THE SINO-SOVIET TREATY

by

FREDERICK V. FIELD

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WITH all gracious respect to southern California's hospitality during the time we were there, one of the biggest catches in our breath came when we got back to 104 East Ninth Street. Not that it's New York—you understand—not entirely at any rate—it's mostly what's back of this magazine you're reading. After almost five years on the staff, after ten months away, after the long trip back, wondering what the big city's tempo would do to us again—we gloried in it, in spite of a cold picked up somewhere between Los Vegas, Nevada, and Grand Island, Nebraska.

It's a pretty big thing to leave home in November 1944, and find almost everything the same when you come back. Not that there haven't been changes—politically and personally. But to find the whole, total spirit of realism intact is better than anything ever dreamed up in a moment of nostalgia. That idea of realism—15 plus 15 (see page 16); all the snarled problems of the days ahead, are NM's business and yours. Enough of breast-beating and hair-tearing. There's a job ahead for all of us.

M. DE A.

IT WILL be impossible to sign one set of initials to this collective effort. Nor would we want to. The story of the Job Rally held recently in Madison Square Park in New York is an eye-witness account, and done by Carrie Perry of our circlation department. Carrie insists that the entire department helped contribute to the article, which takes us back again to our thesis above implied lovingly, that NM's best work is done collectively. Here is a result:

LABOR, to the tune of 60,000, marched into Madison Square Park from north, south, east, and west and stood for hours listening to their leaders, and other stalwart people's fighters, hammer out a program for jobs. Victory over Japan with its consequent mass lay-offs of industrial workers and the determination of workers to have jobs, brought them to this CIO rally.

Ironically enough, we stood there surrounded by skyscrapers that testified to America's great wealth in resources and technical development, side by side with thousands of workers who were laid off the day after V-J Day and many others who knew their jobs were in danger. The demonstration rang with protests, demanding jobs for every worker, warning the government that it must act and not leave the problem to private enterprise.

Speakers included Rep. Emanuel Celler and Vito Marcantonio; such labor leaders as Councilman Michael J. Quill, Joseph Curran, head of the NMU, Charles Collins of Negro Labor Victory Committee and Ruth Young, vice president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO, all of whom voiced the sentiments of the crowd that the people would not stand for a return to apple-selling, that they looked to the government for legislation to guarantee jobs, if private enterprise cannot do it.

Side by side stood Negro, Gentile and Jew, faced with the same problem: unemployment.

Looking at the faces of those soldiers on the production line along with their brothers just returned from the field of battle, one saw the determination to lick the home enemy. Unlike the veterans of 1929-33 they know the solution to their common problem and will accept nothing short of full employment. They wanted it to be known that if the present government does not accept the responsibility, they will see to it that a change is made.

C. P.

AMONG this week's contributors: Thyra Edwards, former managing editor of *People's Voice*, Negro weekly, is now a free lance writer. Harold Preece, native Texan from way back, now living in Tennessee, contributes frequently to NM and other publications. Bella V. Dodd, former legislative director of the Teachers Union, now holds the same title in the New York State Communist Party. Millen Brand, well known novelist, is author of *The Outward Room*.

SINCE you've missed Virginia Gardner's Washington correspondence (as who wouldn't?) for the past few weeks and Bill Gropper's usual weekly page, you may have gathered they were on vacation. You would be right. Both are returning, Miss Gardner in this issue and Mr. Gropper next.

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WHO'S STEALING THE ATOM?

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

AN EXCEEDINGLY grim battle is developing here which is expected to break into the open soon. To date the only visible skirmishes have been polite and seemingly academic disputes in the pages of the New York *Times* and elsewhere on whether discoveries in "pure science" can be made under contract to the government, with Dr. James B. Conant holding that they can't be, and apparently wavering and finally concluding that whether they should be "depends on whether or not the US wishes to go as far down the road of socialism as do our British friends across the sea."

These are not puerile debates despite the ivory tower shadings imparted to them by Harvard's President, Dr. Conant. They foreshadow a fight over legislation involving the entire future development of atomic energy.

How important this legislation is may be suggested by a curious omission in all the reams of beautifully prepared publicity released on the atomic bomb. With this in mind I called the office of Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, a government wartime agency under which the research contracts for the development of the atomic bomb were let until May 1943, when they were transferred to the Army Corps of Engineers. I simply wanted to ask Dr. Bush who owned the patents involved, and if it were true that the control of these secret processes used in making the atomic bomb were in the hands of monopoly. I had seen nothing on this.

Dr. Bush's secretary would call me, I was told. But he did not call. I called again. I talked to the secretary, Samuel Calloway. Dr. Bush would not be available to answer anything about atomic energy, he said. He said the OSRD had controlled research on the bomb only under the Army. I pointed out that contracts were let before the joint control period began. Later the Army had full control. I asked if there were any reason for withholding information of vital interest to the public. "If the War Department doesn't want to give it to you, why should Dr. Bush?" he asked. I said I felt sure Dr. Bush was anxious to protect public interests. Then I asked if Dr. Bush were not publicly supporting S-1285, the Magnuson bill for the promotion of science, the chief competitor of S-1297, the Kilgore bill. Mr. Calloway, a bit softened by now, said that he thought Dr. Bush favored the Magnuson bill over other pending legislation but that he hadn't come out publicly—but the whole matter would be aired in forthcoming hearings.

When I called the War Department later, I was told to write a letter. Some of the companies involved had been told they could release certain information, but if the Army were to release any officially, it must be done with care. Had any companies released any information on patent ownerships? Really, a rather shocked voice told me, he didn't know.

IT IS assumed that with his usual doggedness in ferreting out monopolistic meshings, Sen. Harley M. Kilgore, chairman of a Senate Military Affairs subcommittee which is scheduled to open joint hearings within a week or two on three of the five pending science bills, will find out what strings, if any, are attached to some of the atomic processes developed.

When a scientist goes to work for a private laboratory, the rights on all that he discovers go to the company. Yet the same principle does not necessarily apply when a private company or laboratory goes to work on scientific research for the government. There is no uniform policy on patents within the federal government, either. It is nothing new for the government to farm out contracts for research, despite the implications of Dr. Conant et al. that it is a revolutionary idea. Various agencies have done it for years. Some of them, such as the Department of Agriculture, have very good policies, from the standpoint of the national interest, on patents. But each agency is free to follow its own sweet will, and it is a large question mark as to who actually owns a lot of the wartime inventions produced under the financing and control of the War and Navy Departments. Senator Kilgore has pointed out that in some cases the contracts are drawn so loosely that even interlopers could come in and file patent claims successfully.

The War Department would doubtless be happy if the May bill (HR-3440), which has already been passed by the House, would become law. It authorizes a National Academy of Sciences to set up a research board for national security by agreement with War and Navy Departments. It stipulates all experiments and projects are to be carried out "pursuant to contracts or other arrangements made by the National Academy of Sciences," and authorizes the piddling sum of $8,000,000 a year. Thus the War and Navy Departments could keep a tight control over all future developments of atomic energy. The War Department is drafting a bill to keep control over the processes already developed.

The Byrd bill (S-825), reported out by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, would vest control in a half military and half civilian board, the civilians to be appointed from a panel submitted by the National Academy of Sciences. No safeguards are provided in either bill making it mandatory that any discoveries be made public property.

The forthcoming hearings will take place on three other bills, the Kilgore and Magnuson bills and the Fulbright bill (S-1248) which is a limited bill to promote research and pilot plant experimentation useful to business, particularly small and medium-sized business.

The story of the Magnuson bill is that Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), a progressive, was sold a bill of goods when he introduced it. I asked Dr. Bush's secretary to verify the report that it was written by Oscar Ruebhausen, general counsel to the OSRD. He said he did not know—but the report is reliable.

Now the ironical fact is that Dr.

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"Now just let me explain how this employment business is going to work out all right."

Bush, who demonstrated the incontrovertible value of planned and coordinated scientific research in war, is opposing it in peace. He is lobbying against—even reportedly organizing a concerted attack on—the Kilgore bill, which sets out to do just this. The Magnuson bill provides for grants-in-aid, which means passing out government subsidies to colleges and private laboratories with an extremely loose control by the government. Dr. Bush and Dr. Conant profess to believe a scientist cannot be free otherwise. (Incidentally, the social sciences are ignored in the Bush report to the President and in the Magnuson bill.) Senator Magnuson and Sen. William Fulbright both are expected to join in backing the Kilgore bill.

The crux of the weakness of the Magnuson bill, with all its powerful OSRD support, lies in the fact that the National Research Foundation it would set up would be, in the words of the subcommittee's report on legislative proposals, "left with full power to negotiate such patent arrangements with research contractors as particular situations may require in the public interest." While it is known that Dr. Bush vigorously opposes letting the War Department have the control over the research into harnessing the atom for peaceful uses, this loose control by the government would not preclude discoveries made being bottled up by private monopolies.

The Kilgore bill, on the other hand, provides for all the competition which the Magnuson bill would allow, but, through a system of research contracts, it would subsidize in whole or part only those projects which were in the national interest, and it would provide for a full exchange of information, preventing duplication after, for instance, some costly or time-consuming experiment had been tried and ruled out. Moreover, it would prevent monopoly interests from gaining control over processes. All research is to be done under contract only. The National Science Foundation could acquire new facilities but no facilities could be operated by the Foundation itself.

Key provision is that it would direct the Foundation "to make available to the public full data on all significant findings. Also, by means of publications, abstracts, library services and the like, to promote a widespread distribution of information useful in research." A Research Committee for National Defense would classify information when necessary for national security. Then, according to the committee summary, it "stipulates all inventions and discoveries resulting from government-financed research (and this means in part or wholly financed) are to become property of the United States and to be generally available through royalty-free non-exclusive licenses."

To see how necessary this is, particularly in view of the era of atomic energy which is approaching, we only need speculate on what could happen if the Bell Telephone Laboratories, largest in the nation, which spent $70,000,000 in 1944, over eighty percent of which was on government contract, have made improvements in frequency modulation sets during the war. If they have, it is possible, since we do not know how their contracts were drawn, that they might put out improved sets which would freeze out all competitors in the postwar market, thus preventing the democratic development of radio possible under FM.

The Forest Products Laboratory during the war developed, under government contract, a process for making wood virtually as hard as metal. But the racket in patents is getting out an "improvement," getting a patent for it and thus being able to corner the market with the improved product. So if the du Pont company chooses to take out an improvement patent because it learned how to color the wood with dyes, it could monopolize the process invented by Forest Products and paid for by the United States.

Actually Dr. Bush by calling for *laissez faire* methods of government-sponsored research through grants in aid, as the New York *Times* science writer Waldemar Kaempffert has charged him with advocating, would at the same time be keeping the doors open to monopoly interests, whether he is aware of it or not. The organized lobby which attacked the old Kilgore bill (S-702), which called for ownership in the name of the United States for all inventions made during wartime, doubtless will prefer the Magnuson bill to the Kilgore bill.

IN SOME quarters a chariness has developed in regard to discussing the future of atomic energy research, almost as if our conservatives were aware that the release of atomic power will hasten socialism by leaps and bounds. From the gloomy statements by scientists that it will take many years before houses will be lighted by atomic power, cars and railroads and ships and planes run by atomic power, cities decentralized and homes placed anywhere, with water obtained from the air, industry revolutionized, it is apparent that such peacetime development is feared more than anything else. Labor and the people will have to wage a stiff fight to see that development continues, that physicists are trained by the tens of thousands, that all discoveries are made public property, and then that they are used. We were willing to spend $2,000,000,000 on the atomic bomb. Is it too much to demand at least an equal sum on research for peace? It must be made available annually too—until the means of

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getting cheaper and more abundant materials, and slowing down the energy, are found.

In his thrilling report, which he calls "a matter-of-fact, general account," of the development of methods of using atomic energy for military purposes under the auspices of the United States government from 1940-45, Prof. H. D. Smyth, chairman of the Princeton University Department of Physics, suggests without saying as much that the development for constructive uses need not be far away. He does this in saying that many of the principles used were well known to the international scientific world in 1940, that the development was costly but the processes chosen worked, and "several we have not chosen could probably be made to work."

"It is conceivable that totally different methods may be discovered for converting matter into energy since . . . energy released in uranium fission corresponds to the utilization of only about one-tenth of one percent of its mass," he wrote. "Should a scheme be devised for converting to energy even as much as a few percent of the matter of some common material, civilization would have the means to commit suicide at will." But he goes on to say that all uses of nuclear energy need not be destructive and that in the fall of 1944 a committee was appointed to look into the possibilities of developing it along peaceful lines, for medical and industrial progress. Apparently the committee of three scientists and two naval men, superseded by an interim committee on a high level, he says, now planning continuing organization, was rent by debate. "While there was general agreement that a great industry might eventually arise, comparable, perhaps, with the electronics industry, there was disagreement as to how rapidly such an industry would grow; the consensus was that the growth would be slow over a period of many years." He suggests ten years for development of nuclear power "for special purposes."

But he points out that all of the scientists involved bore heavy responsibilities, that the questions are not technical ones, "they are political and social questions." And he adds, "Such questions should be debated by the people and decisions must be made by the people through their representatives."

Ironically enough, this gripping account by Dr. Smyth, prepared, he said, to arm engineers and scientists with information they could take to the people, is now unavailable. Released by the War Department, the only copy now available is a file copy. I had to go to the Pentagon building and examine it there. More may be available later, but it is not definite, I was told.

Anyone who reads Dr. Smyth's report becomes conscious of what it means that Einstein's theory evolved in 1905 is now a reality. That is, that one kilogram of matter (two and a half pounds) converted entirely into energy, as only now has become possible, gives 25,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of energy. This is equal to the amount of the entire production of the power plants in the United States as of 1939, operating for two months. If the same two and a half pounds in coal were burned, 8.5 kilowatt hours of heat energy is produced.

Smyth describes the accomplishments in the early period. By the end of 1941, he said, "tangible progress was not great." But the likelihood the problems might be solved appeared greater than in 1940. "Perhaps more important than the actual change was the psychological change." Some of the scientists were no more convinced than ever that atomic bombs were possible, but "the whole national psychology had changed," and (in addition to the original few gloomy investigators) "many other people had become familiar with the idea and its possible consequences."

Just so, despite the doubting Thomases, the slowing down of the actual experimental work, the reduction of the vast projects which at one time employed 120,000 men, the research development will go forward quickly if what Dr. Smyth calls "the whole national psychology" demands it.

THAT GOVERNMENT JOB

By ELEANOR NELSON

NEW MASSES *requested Eleanor Nelson, president of the United Federal Workers of America, to tell its readers what her union is doing to meet the imminent unemployment crisis. Miss Nelson included with her summary a copy of a letter sent to President Truman with specific details of the program of the UFWA to meet the problems of federal workers. The nine points included in that letter follow Miss Nelson's statement.*

UNLIKE private industry, where the extent of conversion from wartime to peacetime products is determined primarily by the owners, the change in size and content of the federal government is a question for the entire country to decide. Prior to the war there were approximately 1,500,000 federal workers; almost 3,000,000 celebrated the surrender of Japan. What happens to the 1,500,000 federal war workers depends on the domestic and foreign policy voted by the Congress at its next session.

Federal workers are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that enactment of the CIO reconversion program will not only prevent hardship and chaos throughout the country, but is a source of employment for them. Passage of the Full Employment Bill, extension of social security benefits, unemployment compensation, a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, and continuation of price control require government workers to administer and enforce them.

The size of employment in the federal government further depends on the extent to which it will continue to manufacture munitions for the peacetime Army and Navy. Our union believes that this industry should remain under government control to a large extent, and that this should include operation of government-owned plants which private industry cannot operate.

To minimize unemployment in our industry and throughout the country, the UFWA is actively supporting the entire CIO reconversion program. Our members have visited their Congressmen at home during the summer and are now planning campaigns to assure passage of this program.

Economically, federal white collar workers are less well prepared to face the coming period than industrial workers.

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The raises granted workers in private industry by the Little Steel Formula were not given government workers until July 1 of this year, three and a half years after the war began, during which time the cost of living rose about forty-five percent. Neither did they receive time-and-a-half pay for overtime work until this year. The UFWA is preparing a bill to be introduced in Congress as soon as it reconvenes, which provides for increases in base pay so that the present take-home pay can be maintained after overtime is eliminated.

We recognize that layoffs are inevitable in wartime administrative agencies and production establishments, but insist that these layoffs occur only when necessary and in fair manner. There is a bill in Congress sponsored by Senator Magnuson and Congressman DeLacy which we are strongly supporting. This bill establishes seniority as the basis for reduction in force in production establishments. Although this principle has long been recognized in private industry, government establishments do not recognize it and many inefficient and discriminatory practices result.

A reconversion problem peculiar to our industry was recently solved through action by our union. While many of the government agencies will either go out of existence or reduce in size, others of a permanent nature have been operating with insufficient personnel due to the manpower shortage and will increase in size. The Veterans Administration will expand enormously throughout the country as our servicemen and women return. The UFWA submitted a plan to the Civil Service Commission prohibiting outside hiring, except of veterans, while displaced federal workers were unemployed. This plan was adopted by the commission. It is the first time any central control exists to transfer workers from contracting to expanding agencies and will result in less turnover and confusion.

From the UFWA to Mr. Truman

To President Truman: . . . Hundreds of thousands of federal workers are about to be laid off. Those who remain will suffer a cut in earnings up to thirty percent in the lower grades due to the abolition of overtime. Meanwhile, there is no reduction in their living costs. In the interests of avoiding a serious economic crisis, in the interests of doing human justice to these workers who sacrificed so much, and in the interests of orderly reconversion, we feel that there exists a grave need for an immediate series of measures to meet these problems. In this connection, I submit the following as the program of the United Federal Workers of America-CIO. Naturally I recognize the responsibility of Congress on these matters and am therefore addressing similar proposals to Senator McKellar and Speaker Rayburn.

1. In the transition to a forty-hour week, reductions in force should be made with the recognition that doing a job on a forty-hour basis requires correspondingly more workers than on a forty-four or forty-eight-hour basis. Thus no reductions should be made until there is assurance that the functions of the agency can be performed fully on a forty-hour week without the use of considerable unpaid overtime.

2. The policy recently enunciated by the Civil Service Commission, calling for no hiring except among veterans and unemployed government workers, meets a need which we have long felt and expressed. The policy needs to be implemented by immediate enforcement and clarification, including placing necessary funds at the disposal of the commission, and including also the prevention of discrimination against Negroes, women, and members of other minority groups in layoffs and hiring.

3. Since there is no legislative provision for severance pay for government workers, we urge a policy of giving at least thirty days' notice, plus accrued annual leave, to all dismissed employes.

4. We understand that the future size and scope of the functions of the federal government will depend in large part upon the extent to which national policy will delegate to the government functions affecting welfare, health, national planning, public works, and housing, as well as upon the decisions made with respect to the size and nature of our postwar military establishments. We feel it to be in the national interest to place more and more of these problems under the supervision of the national government. In particular, we advocate that the functions of construction and repair of naval vessels be maintained primarily under the Navy Department and that major portions of the production of munitions, including aircraft, be retained in the War and Navy Departments. Specifically, we believe that the government should continue to operate government-owned munitions plants if private industry is unable or unwilling to do so.

5. An immediate increase in the basic rates of pay for federal workers of at least twenty percent to enable them to maintain a decent minimum standard of living and to prevent sharp deflation.

6. Unemployment compensation up to twenty-five dollars a week for twenty-six weeks. In addition, legislation providing at least one month's severance pay for dismissed federal workers.

7. Enactment of the Magnuson-DeLacy bill, establishing the principle of seniority in the government's Navy yards and arsenals.

8. The elimination of discrimination against members of minority groups in the federal service, including the passage of legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

9. Passage of the Pepper bill, calling for a sixty-five-cent-an-hour minimum wage and inclusion of federal workers under its provisions.

In the opinion of many thousands of federal workers whom our union represents, all of these measures are so immediately necessary that they should be given emergency priority. We are hopeful that both you and the Congress will so regard them.

Eleanor Nelson,
President, United Federal Workers of America-CIO.

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BEHIND THE SINO-SOVIET TREATY

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE most obvious thing that can be said about the Chinese-Soviet Treaty is also the most important thing about it: China and the Soviet Union, the two greatest nations of the Asiatic continent, have pledged friendship and assistance to each other for a thirty-year period. If you will look at a map of the continent a simple point stares you in the face. These two countries share a land boundary of no less than 5,000 miles. A situation in which no mutual arrangement existed would spell insecurity—if not disaster. The negotiation of the present treaty was therefore a plain necessity of the postwar period. That it was possible to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion is of the utmost significance.

The obstacles to successful treaty negotiations between China and the Soviet Union were tremendous. No one would claim that the victory of the negotiators marks the elimination of these obstacles. They still exist. The point to be underscored is that this treaty, as in the case of the United Nations Charter or the Potsdam Agreement, indicates that the need for harmonious relations and a broad unity among the leading United Nations is prevailing over the multitude of contradictions which tend to keep them apart.

There were, and are, very powerful forces opposed to any kind of friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union. Chief among them are the Kuomintang feudalists who, ironically, control the government which ratified the treaty. Their power and wealth rests upon feudal landlord relationships, deals with foreign imperialists, and functions through a reactionary dictatorship which represents their collective political interests. Their bitter enemy is democracy, in any and all forms. The Soviet Union, as the most powerful anti-feudal force in the world and as the guarantor of democratic progress in Asia is, of course, the influence which they most dread.

The Chungking government agreed to the Soviet treaty as the price for continued existence—or, to put it more accurately, for a chance at continued existence. There is no doubt that the influence of the United States was great. President Roosevelt had pressed Chiang Kai-shek consistently on this point. Friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union were, in his view, a condition to American assistance in the political and economic spheres. There is no reason to suppose that even with all the vacillations, errors, blunders, even betrayals of the American interest in China by our own diplomatic representatives this pressure was relaxed. Dispatches attending the ratification of the treaty inform us that the American ambassador to the Soviet Union played an active part in the Moscow negotiations between the Russians and Chinese and that the Chinese Premier, T. V. Soong, kept in touch with Mr. Harriman.

In saying that American influence was great in this matter I do not mean to overlook the role played by Chinese public opinion. The pro-Soviet friendship policy of the non-Kuomintang elements, principally the Communists and the members of the Democratic League, has been clear and insistent. Within the Kuomintang itself, even in its ruling circles, there are outstanding individuals like Sun Fo and General Feng Yu-hsiang who have been outspoken advocates of closer ties with the Soviet neighbor. The treaty, therefore, represents a victory for China's democratic forces.

WE HAVE been sharply critical of the role of American policy in China and events indicate that we must continue to be so. For with respect to China's internal situation the State Department and its ambasador to Chungking have been selling the Chinese people down the river. On the surface this statement may not seem to jibe with the previous remark that the American government has played an important role in persuading Chungking to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This, however, is only a superficial view. At present the dominant forces of American capitalism tend to work for world security in the form of diplomatic understandings among the Big Powers while at the same time pursuing reactionary policies with respect to these and other powers separately. Thus in the Far East, sections of American capitalism realize that their own immediate interests require cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, but simultaneously pursue policies toward China internally which tend to destroy the security which Sino-Soviet amity is designed to promote.

There is nothing unusual about such a situation. On the contrary it is the very essence of capitalism that it should operate simultaneously in contradictory directions. This confusion is of course enhanced by the conflicts among capitalist circles within the United States. While I believe it to be true that the dominant forces of American capitalism at this time support the policy which has resulted in the Chinese-Soviet Treaty, there is no question but that an important sector of American capitalism is strenuously opposed to that policy. This group, whose spokesmen are to be found in the most reactionary section of the Republican Party, among the Southern bourbons, in the National Association of Manufacturers and among the fascist and semi-fascist gentlemen in the newspaper and magazine business has been closely allied with the Chungking feudalists. It has fought against Chinese rapprochement with the Soviet Union as fiercely and for much the same reasons as have the Kuomintang feudalists.

The differences between these two sectors of American imperialism are a matter of timing and tactics. Both, however, adhere to a common strategy which in the long run is anti-democratic and, of course, anti-Soviet. The more realistic group, knowing that imperialism is not now prepared to do battle with the USSR, sees the necessity of dealing with it in order to delimit Soviet influence and to keep its hand in all international affairs in which the Russians are involved. But meanwhile this group also seeks to maintain and strengthen reaction wherever it has the opportunity—for example, in the case of China's domestic politics. The more fanatic imperialists openly challenge the Soviet Union today. They do not wait as do their more restrained brethren.

Contrary to the thoroughly dishonest headline ("SOVIET-CHINA TREATY REBUFFS REDS") with which the New York *Times* announced the treaty, it is evident that the Sino-Soviet accord opens the door to democratic reform within China and blocks the formation of a Far Eastern anti-Soviet coalition.

Recall the situation which attended the Japanese surrender. Chiang Kai-shek with open American diplomatic and military support set about to defeat, through civil war if necessary, the Chinese people and their patriotic Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and

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guerrillas which had borne the brunt of the war against the invader. In order to accomplish this it was necessary for him to find allies, for his own power and authority had been severely cut down by the unpopularity of his reactionary wartime policies. He sought them among the Chinese puppet quislings and among the Japanese troops themselves. The United States government encouraged this outrageous internal policy.

Meanwhile American imperialists for whom former Under Secretary of State Joseph Grew had been the main publicist were encouraged by the way in which the war against Japan had ended. Their dangerous plans for betraying the war in the application of the peace had a strong chance of succeeding because it was allied with a wily Japanese government determined to snatch a partial victory out of total defeat. We faced a new coalition of forces in the Far East composed of the Chungking dictatorship, the Japanese fascists and American (and British and Dutch and French) imperialists.

The Chinese-Soviet Treaty, let me repeat, has not eliminated this coalition or any section of it. It has, however, accomplished two things. It has again demonstrated that among the contradictory forces of capitalism those temporarily looking to world security can, when associated with the democratic elements of their own countries and with the Soviet Union, prevail over those allied with the remnants of fascism. Second, it balances the scales against the most reactionary forces in China, in Japan and in the United States, and in favor of a big power arrangement which provides a framework for democratic progress and therefore security.

What was needed to alter the relationship of forces in the Far East in a progressive direction was, first, the defeat of Japan, and, second, the inclusion of the Soviet Union as a leading factor in the Far Eastern situation. The Chinese-Soviet Treaty, following upon the brilliant Soviet military campaign in Manchuria, has accomplished the second of these requirements. It may well be that, from the Soviet point of view, this was one of the compelling motives for the treaty. How important this factor is may be judged when we recall that during the entire pre-war period the Soviet Union was virtually excluded from participation in Far Eastern affairs. The Washington Treaties of 1921-22 were negotiated and concluded without the Soviet Union. Therein lay one of their principal weaknesses. Throughout the period of Japanese preparation for Pearl Harbor the Soviet Union was given a deaf ear in its appeals for collective security against Japan. In spite of its isolation it made a large contribution to the defense of China and to the eventual defeat of Japan.

This period of isolation is now ended. The Soviet Union is now thoroughly involved in the whole Far Eastern scene. The relationship of forces in that vital sector is thereby favorably altered.

Mao Tze-Tung.

An examination of the treaty itself — the whole Chinese-Soviet arrangement involves a treaty and six supplementary agreements—bears out these general points. The treaty proper is directed to three problems: mutual guarantees against the resurgence of Japanese aggression; mutual agreement not to join any coalition directed against the other; agreement regarding mutual economic assistance in the postwar period. The supplementary documents provide for joint control of the Manchurian railways, joint use of the ports of Port Arthur and Dairen, detailed arrangements regarding Soviet forces of occupation in Manchuria and their early withdrawal after the war, reaffirmation of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria and Sinkiang, and an exchange of notes regarding the independence of Outer Mongolia following a plebiscite.

As far as offering mutual protection against the resurgence of fascist aggression is concerned the treaty does not differ from those drawn up by the Soviet Union with neighboring states in Europe. In other important respects, however, it does differ. The conclusion is inescapable that the treaty with China is characteristic of an arrangement made with an insecure, unstable and unreliable government. It is not the type of treaty that any nation, and especially a socialist nation, concludes with a strong and friendly state. The nature of the Chinese-Soviet Treaty, and especially of the supplementary agreements regarding Manchurian railways and ports, as well as the necessity of reconfirming China's sovereignty over Manchuria and Sinkiang has all the earmarks of an arrangement made with a government which is not master in its own house. On the other hand, however, the Soviet attitude as exemplified in the treaty with China is a model of how a non-imperialist power deals with a semi-colonial country. The USSR, for example, shares in the control and administration of the Manchurian railways, with control and all equipment reverting back to the Chinese after thirty years without cost. Everything that is Chinese remains Chinese, unlike China's agreements with imperialist states which have used their understandings to gain commercial overlordship.

THE absurd inference has been drawn by several American newspaper editors that the Chinese-Soviet Treaty represents the lining up of Soviet policy with that of the United States in backing the Chungking clique. As I have already noted, the New York *Times* played up the story in such a way as to suggest that the Soviet Union had publicly repudiated China's democratic forces as led by the Chinese Communists in favor of the discredited Kuomintang dictatorship. No interpretation could be more deliberately false.

There is a wide gulf between the present American policy of subsidizing the Chungking gang to the exclusion of all other elements in China and the Soviet policy of establishing a framework of friendship with the Chinese people through their recognized government. The latter opens the way to democratic internal developments; the United States policy obstructs such developments. The contrast in the two policies is well illustrated by authoritative state-

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ments on the internal situation made within a few days of each other.

On August 30 Lieut. General Albert C. Wedemeyer, commander of the United States forces in China, reaffirmed the fact that American airplanes and personnel were engaged in moving Chungking troops to points in Japanese occupied China which had been defended not by Chungking but by the Eighth and New Fourth Armies. He revealed that Chungking depended ninety-nine percent on the Americans for transportation in this operation. The United States is thus officially and openly aiding the reactionary, pro-fascist minority to seize by force, with the aid of Chinese quislings and the Japanese themselves, key points from China's own democratic forces.

On the previous day Moscow dispatches quoted an article appearing in *Red Star*, Soviet Army newspaper. After praising the Chinese-Soviet Treaty as being "of tremendous importance, showing the determination of the two countries to fight for peace and the security, progress and well-being of their peoples," the article continues with this significant passage:

"China can no longer be a backward, semi-feudal country; she has great tasks before her. Any attempts to lead China along a path of reaction will be opposed by the democratic forces of China. The only path for her is that of progressive, democratic development in close cooperation with the other great democratic powers."

The signing of these treaties between the Soviet Union and China should not relax the pressure of the American people upon their own government for the abandonment of a reactionary policy toward China and the adoption of a distinctly democratic one. Nor should it influence us to be less critical of the ruinous policies of the present Chiang Kai-shek government. The world, it is true, is hopeful of a successful outcome to the Chiang Kai-shek-Mao Tze-tung negotiations. Hope, however, should not lead to complacency. Until these or later negotiations, or some other method of solving China's internal crisis, produce results, and until such results are translated from words into substantial deeds, it is in the American people's interest to exert all possible influence against the present Chinese dictatorship. This is a job which begins at home. For without the political and military assistance of the United States government the Chungking feudalists would soon pass out of the Chinese scene.

LET MY PEOPLE WORK

By THYRA EDWARDS

"THEY gave us Wednesday and Thursday to celebrate, said our faithful work won the war—then when we came back Friday everything went out like a light! They said, 'Go home. We'll send for you when we need you.' "

That's how it hit Dorothy Nash two days after V-J Day at the Matam plant in Long Island City where she inspected shells produced for the Navy. Dorothy is one of that new generation that went into war plants as the home guard backing up the fighting front with guns and material. In 1940 she graduated from high school and went to work in a beauty shop. She liked it a lot until, two and a half years ago, her brother joined up with the Navy and shipped out to the South Pacific. A few weeks later her brother Henderson, in the Army, was on his way to Bataan.

Dorothy quit the shop and went to the Matam plant. A lot of her girl friends went too.

Until V-J Day she worked forty-eight to fifty-four hours a week earning eighty-five cents an hour. In two and a half years she never missed a day on the job, never was late and didn't miss a meeting of her union, Local 1227—United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO.

"All I thought about was bringing my brothers home and licking Japan," she says. "I bought bonds every bond drive and, believe it or not, I didn't cash one. I don't plan to either."

At union meetings they talked a lot about full employment after the war and about a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. Dorothy was interested, passed petitions around, and wrote letters, but she wasn't really worried personally.

"I wrote President Truman the day we were laid off," she said, waiting her turn for a job interview at the US Employment office on East 59th Street. "I haven't heard from him yet. It didn't worry me at first. I thought sure I'd have another job by now. But I've been here every day since they laid us off. And all they do is send you out to these low-wage jobs—twenty-two dollars a week, nine hours a day. They say take these till industry straightens out."

She hasn't taken any of the low-priced jobs, she says, because she's getting suspicious it's a trick to help the big plants cut wages when they open up. She hasn't filed for her unemployment insurance, either. She nor her friends, two of whom were waiting with her. "We deserve more than that," they say. "We deserve a job at the wages we were getting."

THAT sums up the spirit of the young Negro war workers who got pink slips. The crowd that came into industry when the depression was already forgotten and FEPC established to stop discrimination against Negroes in war industries. With them it's full employment and no wage cuts and they're counting on their union and President Truman to get it done quickly—not six months from now.

Dorothy, who is twenty-one, wasn't here for World War I. She doesn't know that wars have always been followed by unemployment—depressions. She doesn't know the bloody truth—that wars have been the crowbars prying open doors through which Negro workers got into industry. Successive wars have been the bitter yeast fomenting successive waves of Negro migration from weather-beaten plantation cabins to crowded tenements and cash wages in Northern industrial centers.

After the Civil War Mose moved off old Massa's land to hire out his hands on anybody's plantation. In World War I, 2,000,000 Negroes made the revolutionary shift from Southern peasant to Northern industrial laborer in Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh. Since Pearl Harbor, another 1,500,000 have left the Texas, Alabama, Mississippi area, this time going as far as the West Coast. California estimates that 60,000 Negroes have come to shipyards and airplane plants there. A gang of Negro men and a lot of Negro women, about

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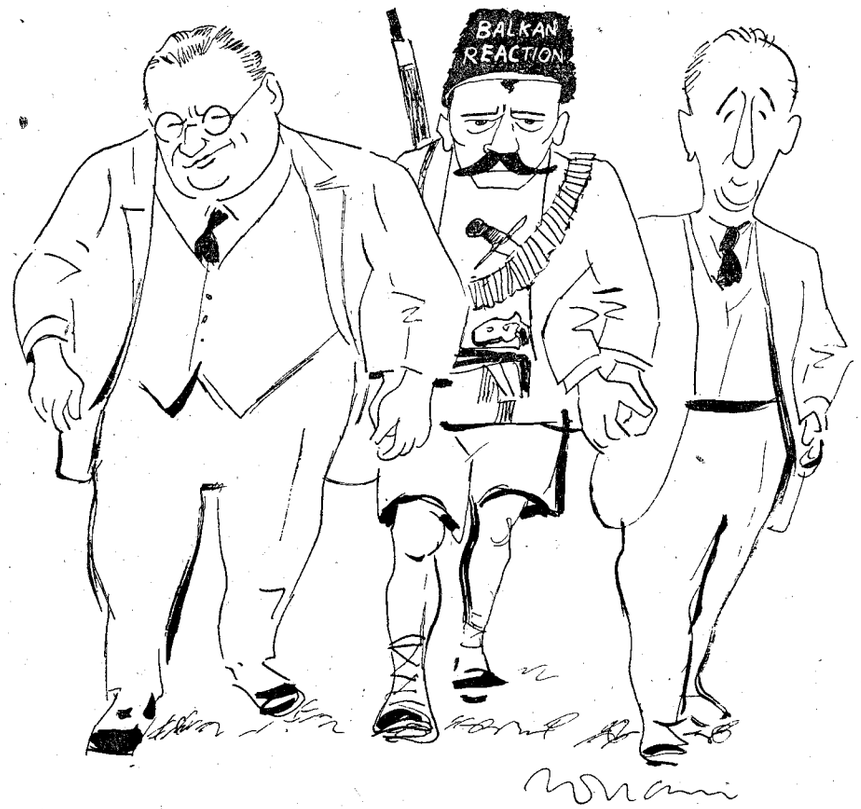

Bevin and Byrnes: "This democrat must vote too."

300,000 of them, have built ships in Portland, Seattle and Philadelphia; jeeps and airplanes in Cincinnati, Detroit and Brooklyn.

Before the war Negroes in the United States were concentrated mainly in three industries—tenant farming, unskilled labor and domestic service—with a sprinkling of messengers and an occasional clerk in government service. Now 210,000 Negroes are integrated in the technical and clerical staffs of federal bureaus in Washington. And for the first time Negroes were integrated in all categories in technical, professional, and supervisory jobs in war plants. The National Youth Administration (NYA) trained youth with many more skills than the obsolete vocational departments of Negro schools offer, got a chance to use and expand those skills for the first time. A lot of bright young men and women who had trained on their own steam in higher technical and scientific institutes got a chance to work in their chosen fields—their first chance.

Take Leroy Jeffries, trained as an expert in personnel administration and vocational guidance: he had about reached the top as a $3,000-a-year industrial secretary to the New York Urban League when the war landed him at the Arma Corporation in Brooklyn, as a job analyst, at $8,000 a year. Arma makes precision instruments for the Navy. Contracts were cancelled V-J Day. Jeffries doesn't know what's ahead. "But," he says, a little cynically, "I got my first chance to be a job analyst —the job I trained for ten years before."

Negro chemists, physicists, draftsmen, electrical engineers and production technicians got their day, too. A lot of them got the pink slips that Friday. The others are expecting them daily. One, a man who worked on the atomic bomb, told me, a little bitterly, "I've been working on destruction so long, I'd like to work on channelling this power for construction. But this was government work. You talk to these men in private industry—men who've been dealing with you all this time and they won't discuss jobs with you. Doesn't look like much chance of them hiring you."

The performance of these men has been commended as excellent. But none of them feels that private industry, back on its own without the restraining hand of the federal FEPC will remember their records and forget their color.

They don't have Dorothy's optimism —perhaps because they're older. Perhaps because they—many of these highly skilled technicians belong to no workers organization—fight alone. Some of them are going South to teach in Negro colleges. Some are going back to school for more training and to wait to see what Congress does about full employment and FEPC now that the war is over.

IF YOU'RE operating a machine on the assembly line, Negro or white, Moslem or Christian, you get it on a pink slip—one line, typewritten: *"Your Services Are No Longer Needed."* It's a little more formal if you're in the upper brackets, say a production manager at twenty-five grand. Then it comes engraved on a classy card. "——— a farewell testimonial to Mr. ——— $5.00 a plate." Either way it leads to the plant gate and maybe the beginning of a depression. Certainly the long queues shaping up at employment offices are grimly reminiscent of the breadlines of the thirties.

The 300,000 Negro women who have been taking home pay of forty-five dollars to sixty dollars a week are not going back to wheel other women's babies at five dollars a week. The 1,500,000 Negro men in war industries and the 1,100,000 Negroes in the armed services have found it's better living even in crowded industrial centers. There are schools for their children, clinics, community centers, the group action in their trade union halls. They won't be going back to pick Mr. Sam's cotton and take up life in the lean-to cabin.

A man can just stand so much, Richard Rivers told me. With his work clothes wrapped in newspaper, under his arm he was searching the jobs listed on the bulletin board in the employment office. Rivers was a Pullman porter on the Baltimore and Ohio troop trains. He was laid off in June after V-E Day and no work since. "Even Roosevelt," he said bitterly, "—he could just stand so much—and more killed him."

They are not going back, nor is race friction imminent at this moment. Just now they're rocking along in the same boat, Negro and white workers, waiting for reconversion on twenty-one dollars a week unemployment insurance (fourteen dollars in some states). The danger is that without jobs for all, white workers will be trapped into the old industrial pattern of grabbing off the jobs and leaving Negro workers a pool of unemployed labor to be manipulated by industry against the white workers it claims to favor. That would be the pattern of World War I reconversion. Full employment and a permanent FEPC—and all workers in there pitching—this is what we must realize if we expect peace on the home front.

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DETROIT: STRICKEN GIANT

By HAROLD PREECE

Detroit, Mich.

THE atomic bomb rocked Detroit when it rocked Hiroshima. Detroit's people, who celebrated victory over that memorable weekend, found the factory gates locked in their faces on Monday. In less than five days after Japan's surrender, thousands of stunned, solemn-faced workers were lined up in crowds that extended for many blocks before Detroit's fifteen unemployment compensation offices. "But there's a big difference between a hundred dollars and twenty dollars a week," a laid-off Ford worker told me on a city bus. "What I can't figure out, brother, is why can't we have full production with everybody working in time of peace as well as war?"

Many other people asked the same question. "We've got the machine power and we've got the manpower. Why haven't we got the power to make jobs for everybody?"

The mood of Detroit's people is the positive aspect of this crisis. Anger with the present city administration and with the profit-mad automobile companies, which are taking their own good time about reconversion, is mounting in Detroit with each curt dismissal slip stuck into a worker's mailbox. Nobody much believes the Pollyanna prophecies of the local newspapers that "things will pick up" after October 1, and that most workers will be back on the payrolls. For the facts of this new tailspin depression are too stark for high-paid editorial writers to sugarcoat with platitudes.

Unemployment in the automobile industry alone is expected to reach the 450,000 mark within a very short time. No more than 500,000 new cars will be manufactured during this year. Which means that no more than 100,000 jobs are expected to be available under the first phase of new car production, which was slated to begin September 1. And this time, layoffs in the automobile industry can no longer be cushioned by jobs in other industries.

This week Detroit reminds me of those medieval cities from which people fled *en masse* to escape a plague. Busses and trains are jammed with discharged workers seeking to escape the plague of starvation which threatens America's major center of heavy industry. "I've got a house and two acres back in Tennessee," a young fellow sitting in the Greyhound bus station told me. "I'll file a claim against the state of Michigan for unemployment compensation. And when that money runs out, maybe I can get me a job in a filling station. Anyhow, I can always grow my own eats for my own family."

But only a small percentage of those "severed from employment," in the polite language of the automobile personnel departments, can go back to a couple of acres in Dixie and raise up a turnip patch as a barricade against hunger. Many workers, whose background is city streets, are already cashing in their war bonds to buy groceries during the weeks when unemployment insurance applications are being routed through miles of red tape. Families which have lived comparatively well during the war boom will have to adjust themselves to living on some twenty percent of their former take-home pay when the compensation checks do start coming through—for a maximum period of five months. This will mean also that thousands of small businessmen, employing other thousands of salespeople, will go bankrupt from buying on a boom market and then being forced to sell on a depression market.

The government guarantees the industrialist against any loss on the price of materials which he purchased before cutbacks and cancellation of contracts. Moreover, he is also guaranteed, for two years, his profit level of 1939. But the man who hammered rivets while his boss clipped coupons has not even the guarantee of a breadline.

"THERE are definite signs in Detroit that the whole reconversion program is being sabotaged by a combination of big monopoly interests," Nat Ganley, business agent of Local 155, United Automobile Workers-CIO, told me in his home. "For instance, steel production is being kept at ten percent below capacity when even a five percent increase, allotted to the automobile industry, would raise auto production by 300 percent.

"There are also indications that steel is being hoarded by prime contractors whose war orders have ceased. And hoarding doesn't help the man who has only his muscle power to sell."

Millions of Americans need new cars and trucks, and production of these essentials reached the 5,000,000 annual mark before America entered the war. But even the 6,000,000 a year production on which the industry has set its sights (still some distance away) will, according to the UAW, mean only 600,000 jobs for the men on the assembly line. If 1,000,000 men whom the union expects to want work (that means those who want to stay plus those with seniority returning from the armed services) are to be kept on the assembly line, industry's goal should be at least 10,000,000 cars by 1950 or before.

But the auto industry has instead been maneuvering to jerk up prices while it jerks down wages. Last week it won from the OPA a fine prize—the job of writing its own price ceilings. To be sure, there are to be ceilings, says OPA, but industry is to work them out itself, on the basis of the costs of 1941 models, plus any increased labor or materials costs, plus "normal" peacetime profits. Allowances will be made too for "any substantial changes from 1942 models."

Meantime, the wages of automobile workers, frozen by the Little Steel Formula, have risen by no more than four percent since 1942. Wages of Ford workers have shown no percentage increase at all. No plans are being made by the big auto executives to utilize the productive capacity of government-built plants, which cost $1,000,000,000 to build and which now stand idle like the men who worked in them. And there are those among the industrialists who aim to use a swollen Detroit labor market to cut wages to less than a subsistence level.

But the auto workers are displaying a new quality of collective leadership and mass discipline which bodes well for that new world chalked on the calendar, come hell or Henry Ford. Demands, to be backed up by militant action, are being made on the automobile magnates for a thirty percent wage increase in the industry. As each existing collective bargaining agreement expires, UAW leaders are bringing up the question of a wage increase to correct the inequities of the Little Steel Formula still hanging like a Kentucky lynch rope around labor's neck. The present struggle for a wage increase is actually the first determined step of labor to restore cuts in real wages brought about by inflated war prices, and opens an uncompromising fight for high postwar wages.

Progressive forces in the UAW are

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anding severance pay of from $400 $800, depending upon length of employment, for every man and woman laid off from the automobile and related industries. Moreover, the progressive leaders are laying a share of the responsibility for the Detroit crisis upon the shoulders of the nation's chief executive.

"If the Truman administration does not stop its vacillations and its concessions to the reactionaries," Nat Ganley declared to a recent gathering of progressives in Detroit, "it is clear that sharp strike struggles will occur simultaneously with mass political actions in the period ahead."

An immediate wage increase is also imperative in order to call the turn on the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission, which may try to force workers to take jobs paying substandard wages or lose their benefits.

In subsequent articles, I shall deal with the dangerous racial tensions now being whipped up between whites and Negroes by Detroit fifth column racketeers out to maintain poverty with rioting and murder. It is gratifying to report that Detroit labor is seeking to cut the ground out from under these Storm Troopers of monopoly capital by fighting aggressively for a national legislative program which will not shame the memory of Tarawa and Iwo Jima. That program has as its No. 1 aim immediate enactment of the Murray-Patman full employment bill. Progressive UAW spokesmen point out in this connection that President Truman still has on hand a fund of over $30,000,000,000 left over from general war appropriation and that this money can be used to keep people working until a full employment program, envisioned in the bill, can get under way.

With wages tumbling in Detroit, labor is also demanding enactment of the Pepper sixty-five-cent minimum wage law. Anticipating the attempts that will be made to pit white workers against black workers in bigger and bloodier race riots, it is pressing for enactment of the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. With the same calm foresight, it is urging defeat of the Ball-Hatch-Burton Act to muzzle organized labor, it urges appropriation of emergency funds for public works projects, and whatever state legislation that may be needed to back up a national policy of security and prosperity.

Long, hard days lie ahead for Detroit. They will be days of decision and days of struggle.

The Children

I

An interval of laughter
Between two nights. . . .
And now the child is gone,
Face faded, can't be heard
And you wait and listen and wait
For a child-word.

The classroom is empty,
Primer gathers dust,
Ages in the sun
Licking through broken windows.

They were singing before
The boots crushed the threshold. . . .
The little ones and the bigger ones,
Before the boots crushed their flowers . . .
Singing their home-song, land-song,
And the boots roared over them,
Still clasping hands.

What did they know of bayonet,
How it thrusts with the weight of a man?
What did they know of bullets
Sputtering at flesh targets?
What did they know of "sport,"
Of the hunters of children?

Now the child is gone. . . .
His cap and his mittens,
Her dress and her shoes
On another unwondering child far away. . . .
And you are left waiting
A call, a word.

The snake has taken its prey,
The nest flutters in the sacked tree.
Gone is the little bird.
Only the land's intimate mother-ear
Seems to hear,
Bent in an attitude of waiting.

II

In the rubble of the classroom
They picked up a torn picture
Lying in the fragments
Of the interrupted lesson
And they nailed the picture to a stick,
Making it banner to hold before them....
(Lord knows what the children were doing
When they marched through the gutted town
With their kerchiefs atop their blouses
And a picture leading them on.)

Down and down through streets
That had swallowed laughter.
Strange banner before them,
They, marching after.

These watch, have come from the ruins,
And a gasp riffles their ranks
They sway like wheat b[illegible]ore wind,
Before the march of the ch[illegible]
Before their iron face.

Now the commandant is angry,
Now his features erupt
The customary orders:
Blood! Shed blood!

They have choked the eyes of the children,
Cut their hearts with steel,
Never again to know mother touch
Or flower feel.

Where did the children read it?
How did the children know
That some day out of their death march
Happy children should grow?

The shovels shrink from duty,
The dogs have no one to lick. . . .
All because of the children
And a picture nailed to a stick.

MARTHA MILLET.

This poem is one of those which received honorable mention in NM's Art Young Memorial Award contest for poetry.

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JONAH AND THE ELEPHANT

By BELLA V. DODD

ELECTIONS in New York City have a way of overflowing the bounds of their locale and affecting national politics. This is more true this year than ever before. For instance, nowhere among the candidates will the name of Thomas E. Dewey be found. Yet Dewey, the titular leader of the Republican Party, is very much a part of the New York City election. It was Dewey, in fact, who picked one of the candidates for mayor. And what Dewey and his mentor, Herbert Hoover, represent can, if the voters permit it, emerge triumphant from the election. That might very well set the stage for a GOP victory nationally in 1946 and 1948.

New York's election has more than local importance in other ways. It will determine whether the American Labor Party is here to stay as the political arm of organized labor and other progressive elements in New York State, or whether it is destined to disappear as have so many other third parties in this country.

The election will also help determine whether the CIO Political Action Committee on a nationwide basis is a mere "flash in the pan," or will become the core of a united national movement that will express the political aspirations of the millions of American workers and their allies, the rural and urban middle classes and the Negro people. The election will likewise determine whether a clique of Social Democrats, led by David Dubinsky and Alex Rose through their political instrument, the Liberal Party, will in combination with the reactionary Dewey-Hoover wing of the Republican Party succeed in dividing labor and the progressives, and lead them into the quagmire of Russia-hating and Red-baiting.

It was to have been expected that with the end of the war the political coalition around President Roosevelt, which cut across the two-party system, would be changed considerably. In New York City a desperate attempt was made by the leaders of both major parties to establish a coalition of a different kind —a united front of reaction for the purpose of destroying the political effectiveness of organized labor and its various divisions. The gentlemen who control both major parties had agreed that the former Tammany Hall member, Judge Jonah Goldstein, was to be their joint candidate.

However, it was not so easy to hamstring the progressive voters of New York, who have been trained through twelve years of the independent La-Guardia administration, who have helped create the achievements of the Roosevelt administration, and who have won victory after victory through the election of such men as Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Congressman A. Clayton Powell. For that reason it was impossible for the reactionary leaders of the two major parties to carry through their plan. Failing to achieve formal coalition, the Democratic leaders determined to put up a weak slate against their real choice, Judge Goldstein. These plans were once again frustrated by popular pressure, acting this time through Brig. General William O'Dwyer who, with the support of organized labor, fought inch by inch against this plan and demanded a slate worthy of the people of New York.

THE coalition of the Social Democrats with Thomas E. Dewey around the person of Judge Jonah Goldstein is intended to do two things. The selection of a Jewish candidate by the Republican and Liberal Parties is intended not to give the people of this city a really outstanding Jewish candidate who might become mayor of New York, but, instead, to so split the progressive Jewish vote as to assure Dewey's election as either governor or US Senator in 1946. Likewise, the Liberal Party hopes that a demagogic appeal to the Jewish people and their rightful aspiration to full political recognition in the city in which they poll the largest number of votes will catapult the Liberal Party into a position second only to the Democratic Party. If these forces are successful in the progressive, labor-conscious city of New York, they will set the pattern throughout the country.

In recent days, a new element of confusion has made its appearance. The so-called No Deal Party under the leadership of Newbold Morris, president of the City Council, and Mayor La Guardia has created a great deal of confusion in the ranks of progressive voters. Much as one may sympathize with both Morris' and La Guardia's desire to remain in the political picture so that they may be effective in the 1946 elections, their action in setting up a fifth political party that will further split the independent progressive voters is hardly constructive. At first blush it seemed as if the No Deal Party had entered the political arena for the purpose of taking Republican and independent votes away from Jonah Goldstein. The leaders of the Liberal Party were quick to denounce the new political venture. However, Mayor La Guardia's sober statement that this was not true must make every progressive voter re-evaluate the No Deal move. While the party is called a No Deal Party, we should keep in mind that this group is in reality a No-Deal-Yet Party. Rest assured that the lieutenants of Thomas E. Dewey will not overlook even a remote possibility of striking a bargain with these two important political leaders.

La Guardia had been put forward by President Roosevelt as a possible candidate for US Senator on the Democratic ticket in 1946. With the death of Roosevelt, a strong hand was removed from the New York State Democratic Party. Fiorello La Guardia can hardly expect the Flynn-Kelly leadership of the Democratic Party to exercise political wisdom in naming him to so important a post as US Senator. The progressive and independent forces of New York City and state certainly ought to utilize the services of men like La Guardia and Newbold Morris. At the same time it is necessary to make them recognize that their path to continued political eminence is not through the division of the labor-progressive vote.

LET us look at the three candidates for mayor. All three—Brig.-Gen. William O'Dwyer, Judge Jonah Goldstein, and Newbold Morris—have good items in their records. All three have certain negative features.

Newbold Morris is essentially an independent Park Avenue Republican. He believes in good government, in honest administration. He has fought discrimination and has at times flirted with organized labor. Essentially he represents the people who own real estate and the business people of the city.

Judge Goldstein was associated with the old leaders of Tammany Hall, of the Alfred E. Smith vintage, with the

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good and bad which that implies. He has at times shown a degree of independence of the Tammany machine by fighting them for political power. His election to the General Sessions bench was the result of independent political action. He has on occasion fought against racial discrimination, but has been guilty of some violent statements as a proponent of political discrimination. Jonah Goldstein is so frightened of having the Jewish people called radical that he prefers to associate himself with the reactionary elements in order to prove that the Jews are not radicals. It was this kind of political thinking which led him to the extreme harshness with which he served as judge in the Morris U. Schappes case, which was an aftermath of the Rapp-Coudert witch-hunt. The sadistic act of sending a radical Jewish intellectual to jail for a period of two years was in no way commensurate with the crime that was charged. But Goldstein was washing his hands of those Jews who are Communists or have allied themselves with the Communists. On the other hand, it is amazing how popular the name of Jonah Goldstein is among certain underworld machines.

Brigadier-General O'Dwyer, who is the candidate of the PAC, the ALP, and the Greater New York CIO, as well as of the Democratic Party, has the opportunity of re-welding the healthiest parts of the coalition which assured the election of President Roosevelt. His first action in this election was to thwart the plans of the leaders of his own party, who were ready to sell out the party to Thomas E. Dewey in order to get rid of labor's independent organized political power. O'Dwyer's fight for the nomination against such powerful leaders as Ed Flynn of the Bronx and Frank Kelly of Brooklyn and his subsequent battle against their attempts to cripple the campaign by nominating weak running mates have won the respect of independent political thinkers.

This does not mean that one ought to place a halo over the brow of O'Dwyer. Politicians do not emerge as full-fledged leaders of the people except through struggle. They are molded best by the forces that support them and work with them. On the debit side of the O'Dwyer ledger can be placed the fact that four years ago, when he ran for mayor against La Guardia, he had in his entourage members of the Christian Front and other politically unsavory individuals; that he permitted himself to be used for Red-baiting and that he failed to bring forth a real program for the people.

There are today many positive things to be said about Bill O'Dwyer, in addition to the fact that he is the candidate of organized labor and of the progressive voters. O'Dwyer knows our city. He has served it well as a rank-and-file policeman, as a judge of the Magistrates Court, as a judge of the County Court, and as Brooklyn's outstanding district attorney. His service as presiding judge of Brooklyn's experimental Adolescent Court indicates his understanding of the problems of our young people. He knows the organized labor movement and for a long time himself carried a card in the AFL Plasterers' Union. He did brilliant work in smashing "Murder, Inc." His record as a special envoy of President Roosevelt to Italy, where he was in charge of the Economic Section of the Allied Control Commission, received high commendation from the newly-emerging leaders of that badly-shattered nation. While critical of other Americans on the Italian scene, Premier Bonomi and other Italian leaders were highly appreciative of O'Dwyer's work in supporting the newly-emerging Italian democracy. It was a confidential report from General O'Dwyer that made it possible for President Roosevelt to speak frankly and sharply to Churchill on Allied policy toward Italy. It is now known that the policy of Churchill in Italy was characterized by O'Dwyer as one of "Egyptianizing" the Italian people. It is also known that Bill O'Dwyer was the candidate of President Roosevelt for mayor of New York.

But this is an election in which the individual is less important than the program, policy, and the groupings which are now emerging around the several candidates. The task of independent voters is to weaken the Dubinsky wing of Social Democracy and to strengthen the labor and progressive forces. While it is important that O'Dwyer be elected, it is especially important that he be elected with a large number of labor votes. In order to strengthen the healthiest sector in the organized labor movement, it is important to raise the slogan of "Vote Labor for Mayor of New York." For even if O'Dwyer receives a large number of Democratic votes and the ALP loses its preeminent position as the independent political arm of labor, the progressive forces in this city will have suffered a serious defeat.

The forces in the O'Dwyer campaign must before long bring forth a genuine people's platform to shape the course of the city during the period of post-war reconstruction. This will require an overhauling of the civil service apparatus, a reexamination of the health, educational and welfare facilities, and the projection of a new type of service by making the city government responsible for helping assure a program of full employment.

For the reestablished Communist Party the coming elections are a real test of its understanding of the import of its recent discussion and of the resolution adopted at its national convention. The failure of the ALP to designate Councilman Ben Davis, Jr., for the City Council and the opposition of O'Dwyer to Davis as a designee of the Democratic Party are both actions which weaken the progressive-labor coalition. Without relieving O'Dwyer of responsibility, the Communists understand that both of these actions reflect the failure of the labor movement boldly to undertake the responsibility for ending the Hitler tactic of Red-baiting. This failure ought to be remedied during the course of this election campaign. The Communists for their part, while recognizing that their first task is to elect their own City Council candidates, Ben Davis in Manhattan and Peter V. Cacchione in Brooklyn, will redouble their efforts for all the nominees of the people's coalition.

The people of Harlem—and for that matter, of Manhattan as a whole—face a particularly serious situation. Ben Davis, because of his leadership among the Negro population and his outstanding record in the City Council, had reason to expect the united support of all political parties. Nevertheless, three other Negroes have been nominated in an effort to stop Davis. Thus the failure of the ALP and the Democratic Party to recognize the need of uniting around a single Negro candidate jeopardizes the election of even one in the city with the largest Negro population in the world. The responsibility for reelecting Davis now rests not only on the people of Harlem, but on all enlightened citizens irrespective of political affiliation.

The nation looks to New York in the coming months. Dare the voters of New York fail to set the pace which must be followed in every city and hamlet of America if the peace is to be worthy of the great sacrifices made during the great people's war against fascism?

In a future article Dr. Dodd will present portraits of the three mayoralty candidates, all of whom she knows personally.

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DEAR SENATOR BILBO

By JOSEPHINE PICCOLO

This is an open letter written by the young Brooklyn war worker whom Bilbo addressed as "Dear Dago."

SENATOR BILBO: This is an open letter to the people of our country. I save you the trouble of publishing my letters. From now on I will do that myself.

"Private First Class *Carmine D. Piccolo, Jr.*, 32424465, Medical Corps, for heroic action against the enemy near Diersfordt, Germany, on March 24, 1945. With complete disregard for his personal safety, Private First Class *Piccolo* left his covered position and comparative safety to go to the aid of five wounded men over open terrain which was exposed to heavy machine-gun and small arms fire. After giving as much assistance as possible under fire, he fearlessly assisted and carried the men to a covered position where he could complete the first aid treatment and evacuate the men to an aid station. His actions were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Military Service."

Mr. Bilbo, reread this paragraph. What do you feel? Again the name of Piccolo has crossed your path. Again a "dago" stands before you. We, the American people, *demand* in the name of Soldier Carmine Piccolo that you withdraw your slanderous attack against our people. I have always been proud of my name. Today I am doubly proud.

My brother did not question the race, color or creed of the men he gave assistance, which might have cost him his life. He only knew they were men and they suffered pain. By chance, Mr. Bilbo, you might have been one of those men.

All of my brothers are fine, clean young men. They did not have to go to war to prove it to their family. Perhaps they had to go and give real proof to you. And now that you have read a statement of General Orders from the Headquarters of the 17th Airborne Division—*what have you to say?* Might I recall two telegrams that arrived at our home, not too long ago.

"The War Department regrets to inform you that your son Arthur Piccolo, has been killed in action."

"The War Department regrets to inform you that your son Ralph Piccolo has been wounded in action."

I am not proud because they are my brothers. I am proud because they are men—and there are millions of them, Mr. Bilbo—millions of them.

PERHAPS you would like to know the reaction to your attacks. Or need it be said at all—you must have felt it already. But there are a few twisted mentalities, like your own, who have sent me letters and neither signed their names nor included an address. I do not blame them—they must hide even from themselves the blackness that is in their hearts. What cowards they are to strike and run! One good person from Jackson, Mississippi (no return address) has informed me my ancestors were garlic peddlers in the streets of Rome. To this person I say, I am not ashamed if my ancestors did that—I would be very much ashamed if they had peddled your racial poison. This Carter person has invited me to "find a berth in a colored bawdy house, if your price is low enough." Mr. Bilbo, do seek this Carter out, you have much in common. *It* speaks of the "ignorant foreigners of Brooklyn, who try to offer advice to the *real citizens* of our country."

Then too, among your followers you have those who claim America belongs to them because of ancestry. Yes, one of them asked, "Where were the Dagos when the Declaration of Independence was signed?" Since when do men live on the work of their ancestors? As a matter of fact many of our emigrants were trying to forget "ancestors" and came to build "a new world where men were created free and equal."

No, my dear letter writer—this is not done by American people. We have become great because year in and year out, generation after generation has contributed with the sweat of their brows and the blood of their veins to every road and every rock that has built our country. We want no fat, self-contented pigs, sitting on their ancestry and feeding like vultures on our people.

Bilbo, if America were to disown me tomorrow I could walk proudly among the Negroes of Africa, the people of Italy, France or England because people who believe in freedom have friends all over the earth—but I can think of no cave on earth that would be dark enough to welcome you.

On the day of victory of the war against our foreign fascist enemies, we take up the challenge of the enemies of democracy—yes, even those who stand on the floor of the United States Senate. To the people of Mississippi I say, disown this man. You can have no worse fate than to have him for a representative. You need but to raise your voices as one—and Bilbo will be but a ghost of the past.

And to Bilbo I say, the FEPC will come. We will fight you bravely because we have strength in the knowledge that what we do is right. Our Italian Americans, our Negroes, our Jewish people, our Catholics are on the march—and we will not stop until every child born under the American flag has "real freedom."

Pen and ink drawing, by Alzira.

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THE ABC OF NM'S

As WE went to press two prominent trade union leaders expressed their support of NM's 15 plus 15 plan to combat unemployment and the threat of economic crisis. On this page are the messages of William Sentner, vice president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO, and Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers-CIO. Next week additional reactions to our proposals will be published. We invite comment from our readers and, above all, if they agree with our proposals, action directed toward Chairman Clarence Cannon of the House Appropriations Committee, and their Congressmen.

The 15 plus 15 plan is simple and practical. Last week we published the text of a telegram this magazine sent to Chairman Cannon, urging him to convene his committee immediately to consider legislation that would provide $15,000,000,000 for severance pay to unemployed workers and $15,000,000,000 for public works. The latter would create nearly 4,000,000,000 jobs directly and many more indirectly. We didn't pick the total of $30,000,000,000 out of a hat. That was the amount which, according to newspaper reports, the nation would be saving in war appropriations for the rest of the year because of the Japanese surrender. The Bureau of the Budget has now issued more accurate figures which indicate that for the fiscal year from July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1946, the government is saving about $33,700,000,000 as a result of the end of the war. This requires no change in NM's plan.

But we wish to amend our plan in one important respect in order to include the veterans. The $15,000,000,000 for severance pay can also be used to finance more adequate demobilization pay for servicemen and women such as has been proposed by R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers-CIO.

Let us tell you more about the plan. There is nothing "radical" about it. Immediate severance pay to bolster purchasing power is so essential for the national welfare and so orthodox a proposal that even the conservative New York *Times* advocated it in two editorials shortly after V-J Day. The *Times* has since quietly dropped the idea, as it obviously conflicts with its perennial campaign against "government spending."

The details of severance pay can be worked out in consultation among government, labor and management. The wage received while employed, the length of employment, and the number of dependents should be taken into consideration, and minimum standards should be set. Severance pay should be retroactive to cover all unemployed workers. The full $15,000,000,000 would not necessarily have to be spent. That would depend on the extent of unemployment.

The $15,000,000,000 of public works is designed to attack the longer range problem. Back in March 1944, New York Commissioner of Parks Robert Moses proposed exactly this sum to be spent at the rate of $5,000,000,000 a year over a period of three years. We think that the rate of expenditure suggested by Moses is too low and can be greatly speeded up. This is money that will add to the wealth and health of the nation. It can be used to provide badly needed public facilities such as roads, schools, hospitals, parks, sanitation, flood control, rural electrification, and for such projects as soil conservation and reforestation.

What About This Promise?

New York "Times," November 17, 1944.

THE present situation in regard to public works reveals the scandalous complacence engendered by big business opposition to any active government measures to cope with reconversion and unemployment. When President Roosevelt last year proposed the appropriation of $75,000,000 to plan for public construction, Congress slashed this to only $17,500,000. Last November 16, Maj. Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Federal Works Administrator, stated that by Jan. 1, 1945, funds would be apropriated for construction that might reach $5,000,000,000 in the first peacetime year. Yet today there is ready only about $1,000,000,000 of public works, which would provide jobs for some 250,000. And nobody knows how soon even this amount will start moving. So much for the much talked-about "shelf of public works" to cushion unemployment!

The public is being fed with pap from big business groups and certain government agencies. J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board, though on the government payroll, might just as well be part of the publicity department of the National Association of Manufacturers. No day is complete without a Krug prose poem on the lush outlook for American employment under the beneficent aegis of "free enterprise." Mayor La Guardia spoke the feelings of millions of Americans when in a broadcast the other night he characterized a Krug speech as "about the worst kind of baloney cut with a dull knife that I ever heard."

Figures issued by the New York regional office of the War Manpower Commission give the lie to the synthetic optimism of the do-nothing crowd. These figures show that in the period of August 15 to August 24, 180,000 workers in New York State were dropped from the payrolls of major employers. There are no figures as yet for those who were laid off at smaller firms. Of these 180,000, the WMC reports that employers expect to call back only 24,000—less than 15 percent—within sixty days, the period during which many companies will complete reconversion.

All of which points up the urgent need of the kind of

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15+15 JOB PLAN

New York "Times," August 31, 1945.

The Mayor quoted a conservative source as having estimated that unemployment by the end of this year would amount to 9,650,000 persons and that by next spring it would be more than 10,000,000. He said he had talked to the Mayors of Chicago, Pittsburgh, Burlington, Vt., and Birmingham, Ala., about the problem and they were all worried about the prospects of unemployment.

Krug Talk Called "Baloney"

Mr. La Guardia added that shortly before his own broadcast he had heard J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board, speak over the same station. He described Mr. Krug's remarks as "about the worst kind of baloney cut with a dull knife that I ever heard" and as "plain, unadulterated bunk."

The Mayor said that Mr. Krug had talked along much the same line that Senator Robert A. Taft had followed before the Senate committee. He added that both

La Guardia Talks Turkey

measures NEW MASSES has proposed, as well as of the other legislation backed by the labor and progressive movement. Let it be clear that the 15 plus 15 plan is not a substitute for, but, rather, is part of a larger program. NEW MASSES wholeheartedly supports the CIO's demand for enactment of the Murray-Patman full employment bill, a permanent FEPC, the twenty-five-dollar for twenty-six weeks unemployment insurance measure, the Pepper 65-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill, the Wagner-Ellender housing bill, firm price and wage control, etc., as well as specific proposals for white collar workers such as were indicated in last week's article by Richard Lewis.

Congress is back. Let's get the ball rolling for a people's program to beat the threat of depression and provide jobs. Let Congress know you want action on the 15 plus 15 plan and the full CIO program. And quickly!

—THE EDITORS.

United Office and Professional Workers of America

LEWIS MERRILL, President • LEON W. BERNEY, Vice-President • JOSEPH H. LEVY, Vice-President
JOHN J. STANLEY, Secretary-Treasurer (on leave to U. S. Army) • RICHARD LEWIS, Acting Secretary-Treasurer

Affiliated with the C. I. O. — Circle 7-4395
1866 BROADWAY — NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

August 31, 1945

Mr. A. B. Magil, Associate Editor
New Masses
104 East 9th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Magil:

The thirty billion dollar reduction in war expenditures will represent a loss to the nation and not a saving if it results in increasing unemployment and declining purchasing power. We were ready to spend these thirty billion dollars to win the war - we must be equally prepared to use it to win the peace.

I heartily endorse the proposal that Congress use these funds for severance pay to war workers, for increased mustering-out pay to the servicemen, and for a program of public works, particularly for hospitals, schools and low-cost housing.

Very sincerely yours,

Lewis Merrill

President

LMsrm
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WESTERN UNION

WU B66 DPR COLLECT=STLOUIS MO AUG 29 940A A B MAGIL=
NEW MASSES=

WE WELCOME YOUR PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF AVAILABLE THIRTY BILLION OF FUNDS APPROPRIATED BY THE CONGRESS FOR WAR TO BE TRANSFERRED TO THE SECURING OF THE PEACE BY A MASS PROGRAM OF SEVERANCE PAY AND GOVERNMENT FINANCED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM MORE THAN 18 MONTHS AGO OUR UNION HAD SECURED AGREEMENTS FROM MAJOR MANUFACTURERS IN ST LOUIS EMPLOYING AT THAT TIME 22000 WORKERS TO A SEVERANCE PAY PROGRAM THESE PLANS WHICH REQUIRE GOVERNMENT APPROVAL HAS BEEN REJECTED BY ECONOMICS STABILIZER DAVIS BECAUSE IT WOULD COST THE GOVERNMENT SOME THREE MILLIONS AND NOW REST ON APPEAL WITH MOBILIZER AND RECONVERTER JOHN SNYDER AND PRESIDENT TRUMAN MISSOURI VETS OUR FARMERS AND LAID OFF WAR WORKERS ARE RAPIDLY GETTING THE QUOTE YOU GOTTA SHOW ME END QUOTE SPIRIT AND ARE DEMANDING ACTION FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND HIS KITCHEN CABINET FROM MISSOURI OF COURSE I GREET AND APPRECIATE YOUR SEVERANCE PAY AND PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM PROPOSALS=

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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NM SPOTLIGHT

For Full Employment

THE current hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Murray-Patman Full Employment Bill represent the opening skirmishes in a larger struggle to establish government responsibility for guaranteeing the right of every man and woman to a job. The positive features as well as the limitations of this bill were analyzed in an article by Howard White in last week's NEW MASSES. The Senate Committee hearings reveal that all consistent adherents of the wartime democratic coalition support this bill as an essential measure to help cope with the economic hazards of capitalist society. Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace in his testimony pointed out that private business cannot maintain full employment by itself and that government aid and planning are necessary to achieve this end. Both President William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray, head of the CIO, strongly endorsed the bill. The Communist Party presented a statement to the committee urging passage of the bill to implement the pledge made by the late President Roosevelt in his Economic Bill of Rights. The Communists also suggested supplementary legislation.

The committee hearings reflect only a minute fragment of the nationwide sentiment for active measures to combat unemployment and to assure a maximum number of jobs.

The 60,000 who attended the CIO rally at Madison Square Park last week in New York gave only one of the many demonstrations that the American people consider the right to work an indisputable issue. Last week's *Fortune* poll indicated that 55.3 percent of the American people favor full employment requiring both government and industry planning, and that 10.4 percent, significantly, favor full employment through government ownership of industry. The total of 65.7 percent who favor full employment demonstrates that the demand for the right to work is far greater even than the popular vote for FDR last November.

There were representatives of American business like Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and James P. Warburg who supported the bill. But Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers appeared as the chief spokesman and spearhead of the opposition to the Murray bill. Mosher, supported by other industrialists and bankers, opposed the bill, demanding that government keep hands off private enterprise, reduce taxes and revise all labor legislation. This official representative of the largest manufacturing monopolies is obviously fighting for a postwar economy of scarcity with low wages and high profits which would lead directly and speedily to a postwar economy of depression and economic chaos. Behind Mosher stands the powerful Republican machine, closely allied with the Southern poll taxers. The fact that the great majority of the people favor the Murray bill is itself no guarantee that the measure will be passed. The mounting campaign for its support must be built up into a mighty force to make sure that Congress will heed the express will of the nation.

Luce Plans the Next War

THERE are by this time few innocents who believe that Henry Luce's slick, self-possessed weeklies, *Time* and *Life*, are the objective, factual news organs they pretend to be. Behind Timestyle's distracting distortion of English the multitude of less blatant, but more effective distortions of fact have been getting in their dirty work ever since the spectacular rise of *Time Magazine* to the head of the newsweekly lists. How deliberately these distortions are planned was made crystal clear by a page-one expose in the *Worker* of August 26, publishing the contents of a secret memorandum specially written for Time, Inc., on foreign policy by a former liberal, Raymond Leslie Buell. Buell is a one-time director of the Foreign Policy Association and was the brain truster of Wendell Willkie's 1940 presidential campaign.

The memorandum, written in May, before the end of the Far Eastern War, presents a cold-blooded, shrewd program for political warfare on the part of the United States, with the aid of Britain, against the USSR. Calculating, practical, concealed in an Aesopian approach, the program has already taken shape in Luce's weekly editorial pronouncements in *Life;* worse, some of its proposals have made inroads on the Truman administration's foreign policy. The main aims of the program are to avert: "(1) a Russian-dominated Europe, (2) a Russian-dominated Asia." United Nations Charter, Bretton Woods—okay, but within that framework, a joint policy with Britain to restrain "Russian imperialism." Buell calls for protests over the "annexation" of northern Germany by Poland, for a merger of British, French and American zones of occupation in Germany to counter Soviet influence. He calls for the entry of American and British troops into Vienna (that occupation took place in the face of the opposition by the democratic Renner regime and after the USSR had recognized that regime). Action on the "periphery" of Soviet influence is recommended. He calls for the stoppage of machine tool priorities to the USSR, also the refusal of credit to any country "with whom the US has failed to solve political differences." Of interest to GI's and their families is the recommendation to change the present plan to keep only 400,000 men in Europe. Buell would maintain an army of at least a million men in Europe until Soviet troops are withdrawn everywhere.

In the Far East the memorandum calls for urging only such reforms on Chungking as will not strengthen the Chinese Reds (meaning Chinese democracy), for leaving the matter of the Mikado and the Japanese constitution to the Japanese people (not a word about removing Japanese fascists), and permitting Japan access to the market of southeast Asia and the Philippines. The Soviet Union was to be kept out of the Far East war at all costs. Lend-lease to Vladivostok was to be stopped; troops were to be landed in Korea "at the right time, i.e., before the Russians can get there."

The Luce memorandum should be a warning to all those inclined to believe the honeyed words the American Century press and politicians are using to sweeten their malevolent innuendoes, as well as those who think those innuendoes are not part of a well calculated plan, or that they are ineffective. The

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Luce tongue is shrewd and poisoned and very deadly.

The Trials Move Closer

AT LONG last the United Nations machinery of justice is beginning to move upon the Nazi war criminals. The first list of twenty-four Nazi leaders has been drawn up, charges have been prepared and the tentative date for their trials set. The one time capital of Nazism, Nuremberg, will be the scene of those unprecedented trials early in October. For the first time in history high government officials and military and industrial leaders of an aggressor country will be tried for the crime of unleashing a predatory war upon the world. Among the twenty-four are the gangster leaders of the Nazi Party like Goering, Hess, Rosenberg and Streicher; professional politicians of the German ruling classes like von Papen, von Neurath and Ribbentrop; military executors of the war plans like Keitel, Doenitz and Jodl, and most significant of all, the representatives of the real driving force and the social base of German fascism, great industrialists and bankers like Krupp and Schacht.

It took several conferences of the Big Three and much time before this first list could be compiled. It is the work of an international committee on which the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France are represented. No doubt the inclusion of men like Schacht and Krupp has evoked sighs in certain American and British breasts and stirred nostalgic memories. Such cartel monopolists as the du Ponts and Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain are aching to resume business with their German brethren (as provided in many of the pre-war cartel agreements with Nazi firms). No doubt the American and British tycoons of finance and industry will continue their efforts to save other German big business war criminals from the fate that awaits Schacht and Krupp. But the war-tortured millions look to the October trials not only for justice and retribution, but also for an historical example that will serve as a warning to all future warmakers.

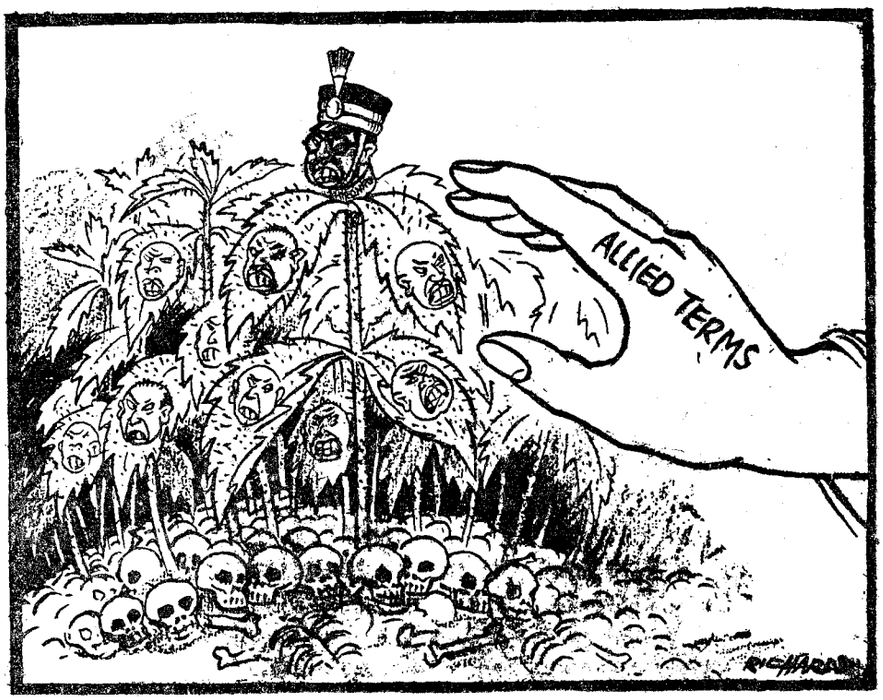
The Braden Appointment

THE policy of appeasing the Argentine fascists in order to confront the Soviet Union with a "united" bloc of twenty-one American votes in San Francisco, has proved its bankruptcy. The removal of Nelson Rockefeller from his post of Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs is a public repudiation by the State Department of the policy it pursued from the Chapultepec meeting last spring through UNCIO. Ambassador Spruille Braden, who has been recalled from Buenos Aires to take Mr. Rockefeller's place, has been outspoken in his criticisms of Farrell and Peron during his stay in Argentina. Himself a mining engineer and the scion of a wealthy family which formerly had extensive mining interests in Latin America, Braden is said to be a tough hombre with a good head for business. It will be his job in Washington to represent US monopoly capital interests, who want above all to eject Great Britain from its stronghold in Argentina and, now that the Germans and the Japanese are no longer competitors in Latin America, take over that continent as the private preserve of Wall Street.

What effect will the Braden appointment have on the prolonged struggle of the Argentine people to regain control of their country and make it strong, industrial and fully independent? The short-term effect of Mr. Rockefeller's departure and his replacement by Spruille Braden is undoubtedly good. A major international prop has been jerked from under the tottering GOU (Group of United Officers). United and effective action by the Argentine people has been facilitated. Such action, whatever the form it takes, now appears more imminent—particularly since the return to Argentina of the leaders of *Patria Libre* who had been carrying on the struggle from their asylum in Uruguay.

The main political parties and classes in Argentina are united now on the limited objective of overthrowing the hated Peron regime and returning to constitutional normality. Among the ninety percent of the people who fight to achieve this immediate objective there are, of course, many distinct tendencies and a wide range of economic and social programs for the future. Even when Peron and the GOU are gone it is obvious, therefore, that Argentina's problems will not have been solved.

It is only by taking the long view that we can correctly appraise the Braden appointment. Unless the US labor and progressive movement increases its vigilance, we will find that the Argentine fascists and their British imperialist friends have been replaced by a reactionary regime subservient to our "own" imperialists. That would be more than a tragedy for the Argentine people. It would strengthen US monopoly for new assaults against labor and the people on the home front.



Tender-handed, strike a nettle
And it stings you for your pains;
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains.

London "Daily Worker."

Here and There

EVIDENCE of the new stature and vitality of American music are recent appointments to important musical

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On Remembering Pearl Harbor

No one can study the Army and Navy reports on the Pearl Harbor disaster without feeling that perhaps we won the war against Japan despite the bureaucracy, the lack of coordination, and the hidebound traditionalism that pervaded—certainly in December, 1941—the highest ranks of the armed forces. The Navy document attempts to seek out scapegoats and in the end throws a little light but hardly enough to give the reader a thoroughly honest account of what happened. The Army narrative is more illuminating and in a sense more self-critical, but it too suffers from an inability to render a complete assessment of who was responsible for what. This is apparently out of fear that the country at large will forget or minimize its great achievements in Europe. The net result is a web of confusion, of many unanswered questions. One still wants to know, for example, why General MacArthur's planes on Manila were in exposed positions twelve hours after General Marshall had warned him that a Japanese attack was anticipated momentarily.

While there are dozens of other questions demanding explanation, the fact remains that the fundamental reasons for the Pacific debacle are not to be found in the Army and Navy reports. The reasons are rooted in the course of American foreign policy in the Far East: the appeasement, the sale of scrap iron and oil to Japan, the failure to understand that collective security was the only way of stopping aggressors. If there was confusion in policy-making circles in Washington, that confusion inevitably seeped into the high commands, who in turn fed it with their own special prejudices, particularly as they concerned the strength and friendship of the Soviet Union. And behind this mental disarmament on the nature of aggressors, were the host of American isolationists, the Munichites, who sprayed the political atmosphere with their special poisons and made it difficult for President Roosevelt to move decisively after he realized that Tokyo, like Berlin, could no longer be brought to its senses.

One need only recall the bitter attacks on the White House after Mr. Roosevelt made his famous "quarantine the aggressor" speech to see how he was straitjacketed by the Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Hearsts, the Pattersons and McCormicks from taking the kind of political action which would have made a Pearl Harbor impossible. It is on these isolationists, with their fire-eating anti-Sovietism and their propaganda that we could do business with German and Japanese fascism, that the burden of responsibility lies. And we are happy to see that both President Truman and Secretary of War Stimson have come to the defense of President Roosevelt, General Marshall and Mr. Hull. It is true that the deficiencies in their early dealings with the Nazis and Japanese imperialists were serious, yet they managed eventually to change their policies. It is to their lasting credit that when war did come, they brilliantly mobilized the country and helped organize the coalition of powers without whom victory would have been impossible.

All the reports on Pearl Harbor will be meaningless if they do not drive home a single important lesson: that we must make certain that it never happens again, and that American occupation policy in Japan will be such as to destroy the power of the militarists, the monopolists and the feudal cliques. Up until MacArthur's entrance into Yokohama very little occurred to create confidence that Japan would be so overhauled and so democratized that never in the future would she pursue aggressive plans. And while it is still too early to make any definitive judgment of what American policy in Japan is, certainly the Japanese rulers are assuming that Washington will go easy with her. If Tokyo can assume this, there is something seriously defective in the American approach. Unless we are promptly given reason to believe otherwise, we have learned very little from Pearl Harbor and the greatest pressure will have to be exerted to see to it that that disaster was the last.

posts. Following the lead of the Juilliard Music School, which named William Schuman its director, the New York City Center has appointed the outstanding young composer, Leonard Bernstein, to direct its musical activities.

• Dr. Ernest Martin Hopkins, whose Nazi-like stand on Jewish quotas in American colleges aroused nationwide indignation, has resigned the presidency of Dartmouth. The protests must have made him feel his age—the explanation given for his resignation. It remains to be seen whether the Dartmouth quota policy accompanies him on his exit.

• This legal precedent should quickly become fixed in American court practice. Judge J. Cullen Ganey of Philadelphia denied citizenship to German-born F. M. Eckelman, holding the applicant's anti-Semitic and anti-Negro views to be incompatible with American citizenship.

• A group calling itself "The American Committee to Free Petain" ran a large ad in the pro-fascist New York *Daily News*. Tracked down, the visible members turned out to be George E. Rutherford and John A. Schaefer, men with a record of association with Nazi propagandists. The invisible members whom they refused to identify were said to be businessmen who feared business reprisals. The game was given away when Rutherford admitted the committee to be a continuation of the tory Republican Bricker for President Committee.

• How reactionaries regard American democratic rights was made clear in one of Mark Sullivan's columns. The "right to full-time employment," he said, may be conceded without danger of "socialism" provided it is interpreted in the same abstract fashion as he presumes the "right to the pursuit of happiness" to be interpreted.

• Following the Quisling trial, one notices a thread that links it with the recent Petain trial and that no doubt will appear again in the trials of the Nazi war criminals. It is the anti-Soviet propaganda and intrigue in which pro-fascist treachery, like fascism itself, had one of its chief sources.

• Refutation to American press and radio insinuations that General Wainwright's return to American lines was being held up by Soviet authorities came in the General's quick transfer. It was underscored in the statements of Major General J. R. Deane who declared that "the promptness of the Soviet action astonished the American contact team."

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READERS' FORUM

The Truth Is Political

TO NEW MASSES: The other day I came on an excellent article by Matt Wayne in your July 3 issue called "Sincerity in the Theater." If any of your readers missed it at first reading, as I did, and still have the issue, I advise them to look it up. It says something that badly needs saying, particularly by Marxists, and I would like to see a much longer and more conspicuous article by Matt Wayne on the same subject. His thesis that a sincere and progressive purpose does not make a sincere piece of art if it lacks artistic integrity, and conversely that a true work of art need not be patronizingly passed over because it does not contain a direct call to action, should be memorized by all Left literary and art critics. How many stirring reviews of thoroughly corny movies with a progressive slant we should be spared; on the other hand, how many fine, creative artists would no longer be dismissed as defeatist, escapist, etc. Equally the article should be studied, for their encouragement, by young, progressive writers or artists who cannot draw any clear-cut political moral from the section of life they happen to know.

But the last part of the article has much wider implications. Containing the memorable sentence, "The truth itself is political," it shows that wherever the naked truth is presented, without compromise or comment, it is recognized by the forces of reaction as the enemy, and fought by them as bitterly as if it were propaganda. . . .

If in the past we had had confidence that the real truth and rightness of our purpose would convince a sufficiently large number of people, we would have been plain and direct in speaking of our policy, and would have demanded the same straightforwardness from our leaders in speaking to ourselves. But in place of this directness, we have behaved as if the working class and even our own rank and file were without political insight. Our different lines of policy, thoroughly justifiable in themselves, were labored, embroidered on and pushed to absurd extremes so as to be sure that nobody missed the point—with the result that we not only created confusion but gave the impression that we were concealing the true story.

I think the dead end that we have recently got ourselves into shows it is time we left all deviousness behind. Americans love directness, and there is a great mass of undirected progressive opinion in this country waiting for leadership. We have the chance now to make clear our real position, until now so little understood and so much lied about. If, losing none of the courage and militancy in action that Communists have always shown, from now on we simply presented the facts as they are as our weapon of propaganda, knowing how loudly they speak for themselves, I believe that (in spite or because of our recent drastic change of policy) we should win the active support of enormous numbers of people who ought to be our friends but are now critical, and better yet, we should never again fool ourselves.

As to the impression we should make on the Chamber of Commerce and all that brotherhood, it is of no consequence; they dislike us equally whatever we say. J.B.M.
Mill Valley, Calif.

Courses for Readers

TO NEW MASSES: After reading the pointed—and justifiable—reproach of the ultra- ultra-perfectionist "critics" of NM by Infantry Corporal (August 21), I may be letting myself in for similar warranted upbraidings by accepting the cordial invitation to offer suggestions to the editors. However, as a constant reader and subscriber of long standing I feel I have a personal stake in your efforts to remold and strengthen your form and policy; so I'll take that risk.

1. The "Spotlight" section, which is a most important review of immediate current topics, deserves a place in the very front where it is brought at once to the attention of the reader, instead of its being relegated toward the back or looked for between articles. (2) One of the more enjoyable features, "Salt and Pepper," by the versatile Joel Bradford, has not been appearing of late. It would be a mistake to curtail this column, which scintillates with a progressive sense of humor—the lack of which is a grave deflection from the human side of Marxist evaluation. (3) While I heartily agree with those readers who call for definite Marxian criticism in the educational and cultural fields, no concrete proposals have been forthcoming. Therefore, I suggest the following: Why not have a regular caucus of instructors from the Jefferson School, as Howard Selsam, F. Franklin, Harry Martel, et al., give short outlined "courses" in Dialectics, Philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, etc.? This would be a boon to those who cannot attend the school for physical or other reasons, as well as make NM a vital educational force.

Bronx, N. Y. M. DRUCKER.

Neither Head Nor Tail

TO NEW MASSES: To date I have received NM up to and including July 10. My chief interest at present is the dispute over NM's new line. May I take this opportunity to submit the reactions of one who is far away and has no one to discuss it with?

As yet, I can make neither head nor tail of NM's new line. This does not mean I disagree; I simply cannot understand the position on several crucial points. I wish NM would be more *explicit* on this score. For instance, is it held that the Teheran-Yalta perspective can or cannot possibly be achieved without the cooperation of a considerable section of the American bourgeoisie? Also, is it contended that such cooperation may be possibly induced by a show of popular strength, or that the majority of the capitalists will under no circumstances cooperate? Until NM makes its position on those points clear, it seems to me the debate must inevitably continue at cross purposes, getting nowhere fast. From the direction the Browderite arguments take, they apparently assume the new line is either (a) that Yalta is impossible without bourgeois collaboration, but that the bourgeoisie can be badgered and bullied into playing ball—in this case the margin of difference between the two factions is not very great, or (b) that the capitalists will not cooperate, but that 60,000,000 jobs, etc., is still possible without this cooperation, etc.—in this case the burden of the proof logically should fall upon the Fosterites, as it is in no wise self-evident.

Personally, I suspect the new line really concedes that Teheran-Yalta is possible only with bourgeois collaboration, while denying the possibility of such collaboration. If this be so, Teheran, Yalta and 'Frisco are only a demagogic utopia under whose rallying cry the inherent inability of the bourgeoisie to act in accordance with the interests of mankind will stand exposed in all its nakedness.

Nor can I completely rule out from the back of my mind that all this is a carefully staged demonstration wherewith to convince errant postwar capitalists that they cannot lead us by the nose wherever they will, that if they choose to renege on their promises, we are quite prepared to slug it out with them. One reason for this hunch is that NM's new line stands out like a sore thumb. It is as though the magazine was written up in the spirit of the old line and then amended artificially (like pouring new wine into old bottles) to jibe with the new line.

How about an article on what should be the attitude of our occupation troops to the German people? It should be almost as interesting to folks back home as to us guys here—especially if focused to the quandary of this individual GI. Is there not a third alternative to the Scylla-Charybdis of fraternization-nonfraternization? How can GI's distinguish

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among Nazis, non-Nazis and anti-Nazis?

With best wishes for your continued prosperity. PFC. A. B.

Somewhere in Europe.

[We are happy to have Pfc. A. B.'s letter. We have long felt that the discussion which has appeared in these pages around NM's new line lacked the opinions of the many servicemen who read the magazine in every part of the globe. We hope that Pfc. A. B.'s letter will be followed by others from the armed forces.

In our belief the perspectives of Teheran and Yalta remain. It was our mistaken belief that these objectives could be attained, in effect, by the working class following the leadership of the bourgeoisie. That in essence was the Browder position no matter what qualifications and escape clauses embroidered it. However, we still believe that there are elements in the ruling class who for reasons of their own can be counted as allies on specific issues in the struggle for a peaceful, more abundant and more democratic world. We cannot count on them for guidance nor can we depend on them as stable forces. Historically, the evidence is against a political policy which would place the welfare of the millions within the hands of even the most enlightened capitalists. But on day to day issues such unity is possible and necessary. It would be absurd, for example, for the trade union movement to fail to use the support which a Beardsley Ruml or James P. Warburg—again for their own reasons—have given the Full Employment Bill, or to deny its value. On the other hand, these figures do not typify their class and we must never draw the conclusion that because they do endorse the job measure the ruling class as a whole is progressive. That class is reactionary—always has been and always will be.

In brief, we shall continue unrelentingly to struggle for Yalta and Teheran—for a policy of lasting friendship and cooperation among the great Allies, depending basically on the workers and their long-term allies, the middle classes and the Negro people, to attain these goals. If sections of the bourgeoisie go along, well and good. Differences among the capitalists, however, should be utilized for the advantage of labor and the people, and not in order to convert labor into the tail of the capitalist kite.

The article A. B. asks for on the attitude of occupation troops towards the German people has been assigned. We hope to publish it as soon as we receive it.

—The Editors.]

Platitudes and Criticism

TO NEW MASSES: Congratulations on a very fine article—"Painting and Dialectics," by Charles Arnault. It is what NM readers have been needing for a long time as an antidote to the absurdities which have been filling your art columns. Quite frequently these days one runs across such terms as opportunism applied to a reconsideration of NM's political position. It might do while we are at it to reexamine the opportunism which characterized NM's attitude (and that of the Left-wing press in general) toward art in past years.

Terms such as "ivory-tower," "escapism," "art-for-art's sake," etc., are conveniently flung about by Left-wing art critics in condemnation of works which do not reflect or illustrate the class struggle. But let such a modern artist of extreme abstract tendencies as Picasso join the Communists' ranks and he is welcomed with open arms and quite a to-do is made over him, accompanied by all kinds of specious rationalizations on the part of anti-art-for-art's sake critics, so as to render the entire fabric of Left-wing art criticism transparent as the proverbial king's new clothes.

The function of the critic is patently to educate readers of the publication for which he writes in matters of art appreciation, or of music, or literature, or whatever the subject on which he is considered an authority. If the mass of confusions and opportunistic contradictions which have appeared in NM's art columns are any criterion, then NM readers cannot entirely be blamed for the comparative ignorance on the subject which is unfortunately to be found among them. One sickens to hear repeated, time after time, the platitudes garnered from Left-wing art columns and from such innocently opinionated, though well intentioned, writers as Mike Gold.

It is time to have a little housecleaning in art as well as politics. The masses have a manifest love for fine art and are entitled to healthy, intelligent opinion and guidance on the subject. On the basis of the intelligence and fund of information in art evidenced by Mr. Arnault, I would nominate him for the position of art critic for NEW MASSES, if he is at all available. And let's not have any opportunistic contradictions, but clear-cut art analysis not influenced by whether the artist is a Communist or not.

MICHAEL CARVER.

Santa Fe. N. M.

I Changed My Mind

TO NEW MASSES: In reply to your request for discussion-material: I think your magazine is doing as well as possible. Personally, I'd be pleased with any additions on the side of literature you can make: short stories, critical essays, and anything that might help an author, either in his battle with editors, or in his struggle to do better work. But this is only personal, and to repeat: I like your magazine just as it is.

I thought I'd say a word or two in connection with Arthur Rosenberg's story [NM, August 21]. I have had a lot of experience with anti-Semitism—being once infected with that poison myself! and I have found it the most fiendishly clever reactionary tactic imaginable. If all the reactionaries had got together some time ago, and between them decided what weapon would be best for stalling the march of democracy, they couldn't have found a more clever and powerful weapon than this.

I remember when I had it. I really thought all Jews were lice! I had a fine friend when I was in the Army—1932 and 1933—who was very smart, a delightful companion, and a great help to my advancement. (He encouraged me to learn to typewrite, to study, and to work for promotions—all successful.) Well, his name was Morris Allman; and occasionally I would wonder if he might by any chance be a Jew—dark-complexioned and an intellectual, not a physically active type. Every time I would wonder this I would hastily put it out of my mind—actually in a kind of fear! If Allman, the very best friend I had ever known, should prove to be a Jew, I should have felt contaminated—exactly like a Nazi! I would have scorned and shunned him, afterward. Incidentally, and fortunately, I never found out. Now, I really think he was.

Well, I didn't change until I studied Marx—in 1936. And it is my experience that only one out of a hundred who is not a Marxist will openly stick up for the Jews. (My wife is one of those very, very rare ones. One of the many reasons [sic!] inducing me to the holy bonds.)

One day I had a fight down at the mill where I work, over anti-Semitism—all but blows! Following, I wrote to the late Dave White for literature on the subject, and posted it all over the tool room where I work. For a while things were fairly good. Eventually, I took the papers down; and now—eight months later—the same problem prevails. I've got so I don't say much about it. Nearly everyone down there knows my sentiments.

Personally, I think the Hearst press is the most poisonous element in our country. If some way could be found to get rid of that poison, we'd be in a far better position.

AL AMERY.

E. Pepperell, Mass.

Our Omission

TO NEW MASSES: Naturally I was pleased when you printed part of my paper on "Art Patronage in the United States," read at the Conference on the Arts, Sciences and Professions in the Postwar World, held earlier in the summer by the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, because this gave wider publicity to the purposes of the conference and the committee.

However, as I have had a number of inquiries about the paper, written and verbal, I shall appreciate your printing this correction to point out the fact that the material you published comprised only about one-fourth of the paper's entire contents, and that the questions raised were covered in the complete text.

I may add that the Independent Citizens' Committee plans to publish the conference proceedings in full.

Since this material is part of a social history of American art and artists on which I am at work, I shall welcome any additional data your readers may have.

ELIZABETH MCCAUSLAND.

New York.

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REVIEW and COMMENT

"RICKSHAW BOY"

Reviewed by MILLEN BRAND

A LEADING contemporary Chinese writer, Lau Shaw has been known previously, and only to a few, by his short stories. It is most fortunate for American understanding of China that this novel should receive the wide circulation of the Book-of-the-Month Club.* *Rickshaw Boy* will leave gaps in our factual knowledge of China, but its implicit statements and meanings should go far to orient readers here.

The story, it must be admitted at once, is not over-plausible and is not as strong as the material it is used to convey. But this material gradually acquires an overwhelming impact.

The novel centers around the figure of a rickshaw boy, symbolic of the masses of China to the foreign mind. Happy Boy, a farmer's son, comes to the city of Peking and, illiterate but strong, becomes a "seller of his strength," a rickshaw puller. The novel is not carried out on the single level of Happy Boy's experiences. Constantly behind the fictional figure is Lau Shaw himself, and this produces an effect long neglected by Western novelists. So the novel starts: "The person we want to introduce is Happy Boy and not Camel, because Camel is only his nickname. . . . We hope to describe Happy Boy's position with the same definiteness with which one would indicate the place of a certain bolt in a machine." The reader soon learns to accept this relation of subject to author, finding that what might be sacrificed in immediacy is made up in analysis and freedom of statement.

Happy Boy has a plan of life. The first part is to own a rickshaw, costing $100, and requiring several years of absolute frugality. More vague is the hoped for return to the village for a wife, to whom he wishes to come with the same purity as she comes to him. But slowly the shadows of reality prove the Quixotic quality of the dream. Friendlessness is followed by poverty. Happy Boy, pulling a rented rickshaw, is fair at first in his dealings with other rickshaw boys; but as forces to which he is blind beat him down, he becomes sharp and hard, ruthless, divided from his fellows by the necesity of the dream.

An old man and his grandson, Little Horse, are being fed at a tea shop by a group of rickshaw men, after the old man has fainted from hunger. " 'My son went away to be a soldier, and has never come back. His wife—'

" 'Don't talk about that!' Little Horse's cheeks were so full of food they looked like two peaches, and he kept on eating after interrupting his grandfather.

" 'It won't hurt to talk about it,' the old man said. 'We're none of us really strangers to each other.' "

The premonition of unity is laid across the novel.

Happy Boy has been beaten materially. Next he is beaten psychologically. Self-control and human love are a contradiction, in this environment. By a single sexual misstep, Happy Boy is forced into marriage with Tiger Girl, daughter of the proprietor of the Human Harmony Rickshaw Shed.

The process of entrapment appears to be through the workings of "face." The Western reader may well be advised to follow closely the meaning of "face" as revealed here in the powerful focus of fiction. Having yielded to Tiger Girl once, Happy Boy can no longer come pure to a pure girl of his village. Tiger Girl's knowledge of this loss of face gives her her initial hold on him. She maneuvers him into a situation in which he appears to be the cause of her father's disowning her, and again, having lost face, Happy Boy must marry her. Having succeeded, she allows him to see that it was all a stratagem. " 'If I hadn't deceived you that way, how would you ever have come to deaden your heart and walk the hard earth of reality and lower your head in submission? I put a pillow inside the waistband of my trousers. Ha, ha! Ha, ha!' She laughed until the tears came to her eyes. 'You stupid thing! Let's not talk any more about it. At any rate, I have no reason to be ashamed to face you—I owe you nothing. You're the kind of a person you are, and I'm the kind of person I am. You ought to thank the heavens and thank the earth—I came right out and fought with my father to follow you.' "

FACE is argued and adjusted constantly; yet, flexible and sinuous as it is, it is in the end also rigid and vicious. Once caught in the double vice of conscience and appearance, the victim of face can be led almost to self-destruction. And Lau Shaw challenges its tenets, exposing its ultimate rigidities and showing how they are used to rationalize the deepest degradation.

Tiger Girl dies in childbirth, and Happy Boy is tempted to marry a girl he could really love, Little Lucky One (the names are an ultimate irony and turning of the knife of meaning). But "love or no love, the poor have only one way of deciding any issue that confronts them, and that is on the basis of dollars and cents." Little Lucky One is abandoned, and only taken up again at the end of the novel as a gesture of absolute protest.

The forces that materially destroy Happy Boy are casual and fortuitous: a band of disorganized soldiery, a government detective. The actual forces are the whole organization of society. With blow after blow, Happy Boy's spine of individuality droops and he begins to merge with the ordinary rickshaw boys. Then comes the crucial scene of the novel. A girl student has been arrested and condemned to death for revolutionary activity and the thoughtful official who has ferreted her and her confreres out arranges a public parade. The city dwellers, descendants of a people inured to killing and being killed, "were most of a mind that execution by rifle fire was a little too simple. They would have preferred decapitation, or the death of a thousand slices, in which the appendages are all slowly cut away before the condemned is finally dispatched, or the more delicate operation of peeling off all his skin while he is still alive. Just to hear the words was like eating ice cream: it made you shiver with pleasure."

Blindly the people see the ones who love them carried to death. When the

* RICKSHAW BOY, *by Lau Shaw. Translated from the Chinese by Evan King. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.75.*

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girl cries, "Freedom of publication!" the people spit. When she cries, "Overthrow the secret police! Oppose crooked politicians and the sale of justice! Drive out corruption from the government!" the effect is "strange indeed, and very tart." And when the mounted police beat her into silence, "the festival had somehow been spoiled a little."

The old man, the granddad of Little Horse, is present along the parade route, with Happy Boy. Happy Boy wants to protest, the old man prevents him, to save his life, and Happy Boy buries his head in his hands for shame. "Whether it is true," the old man says, "as it is written in the canons, that 'all men are born good, but in living depart from it,' it is certain that in all the children of Han there is both darkness and light, and that it was in the hour of the ascendancy of the evil in them that they set up this doctrine called the source of wealth. . . ."

It must be recognized that evil doctrines can sweep a people held by the anodyne of poverty and despair, and distort the principles of humanity and goodness. The struggle is extreme and the cost of human cleansing incalculable. *Rickshaw Boy*, by pointing out bluntly the failure of individualism in its lonely sense, calls for the greater individualism of struggle and merging. It calls for the courage of an ultimate devotion, to love, to honesty, to resistance to evil. Within the sore spots of the world exist the units of health, shown here in *Rickshaw Boy* as Albert Maltz showed them in *The Cross and the Arrow*. But the disease must be faced, and the inward and outward curative forces must be gathered and united. In *Rickshaw Boy*, one has the feeling that the summons to battle is issued across a subtle censorship, but that any mind that is sensitive and intelligent can receive the message.

Books into Life

THE KNIGHTS OF THE CAPE, *and Thirty-seven Other Selections from "Tradiciones Peruanas," by Ricardo Palma. Selected, Translated and Edited by Harriet de Onis; Foreword by Jose Rollin de la Torre Bueno y Thorne. Knopf. $2.50.*

WHEN it has been left to librarians to write the books, as in the Alexandrian days of Greek culture and the Christian-monastic days of Latin culture, and during the declines of the Chinese dynastic cultures, literature has always suffered dry years. But there have been a few librarians in whom the living principle of literature survives the confining effect of library shelves, who can reach to the life within books and transmit it, living, in books of their own. One of these is the Peruvian, Ricardo Palma, from whose classic *Peruvian Traditions* come the thirty-eight selections that make up this book.

It is difficult to suggest the flavor of the *Traditions* by referring to any books better known to the English reader. The translator attempts it with Washington Irving's stories of the Hudson River Valley, and then has to devote a number of paragraphs to explaining away the differences. I can think of several other possible analogies but I would have to follow, in each case, with similar disclaimer paragraphs. The *Peruvian Traditions* must be regarded as, so far, a literary species by itself.

Palma's eighty-six years were full and vigorous, as the life-loving pages of his book would confirm. Most of them were spent as curator of the Library of Lima, capital of Peru, which he had made as living as any city can be through a book. Before settling on the form of the *Traditions* he tried his hand at a variety of other literary types without successfully making any one his own. Then he had the good fortune, the lack of which has kept hundreds of obviously gifted writers from fulfilling themselves, of hitting on the form exactly suited to his talents and his circumstances—brief sketches of two or three thousand words, evoking personalities of his beloved Lima whom he had tracked down through old books, civil or church registers, or oral traditions.

In these frankly personal sketches in which the author does not refrain from including himself and making remarks in the first person, Palma proves again that, as among the elements of the earth, everything is good for something. Thus he makes excellent use of methods that are supposed to invite certain literary disaster. He stands serenely above his characters and he pours comments over and around them. This is generally considered to be fatal treatment for characters and is supposed to smother them like pilgrims under an avalanche. But far from being submerged the characters step out of it all magnified and refreshed. At the worst Palma's comments, vivacious, pointed and wise, and, therefore, absorbing in themselves, are like the often disproportioned but lovingly detailed backgrounds of landscapes and cities in Renaissance paintings in which one may lose oneself and forget the foreground figures for the moment. But, for the most part, the comments are in full functional relations to characters in the narrative.

Palma's subjects are tales and oddities of his city's history. They cover episodes in the conquest of the Inca empire by Pizarro and his followers, and the treasure rushes and the conflicts that ensued. There are episodes, also, from the spiritual aggressions of the "soul-hungry" priestcraft that accompanied the conquerors, the forays of the British and Dutch pirates, and episodes of the wars by which Peru won her independence from Spain. This material has always been treated more or less romantically or mystically, but Palma deals with it with sunny rationalism, with a Voltairean poise. What with other writers has appeared to be a mystical exaltation is reduced to the frenzy of greed over the Inca treasure and later the frenzy of pride and combativeness induced by its over-sudden acquisition. The church's "soul-gathering" appears to have a similar get-rich-quick character. What we have is a persuasive secularization of events which have, because of their spectacular character, invited mystical "interpretation." Palma has accomplished this by the simple method of always sticking to the plain, human realities of his conquistadors.

He does so even when his subject is the miraculous. From miracles themselves he manages to evoke human personality, as in the one which keeps a falling man in mid-air while the friar, forbidden by his harassed abbot to perform any more miracles, runs to get permission to finish off this one.

ONE consequence of such treatment is that the American reader begins to feel the differences in Spanish and British colonization as a matter of historic circumstance rather than of innate English and Spanish character. He begins to see that it was a historic accident that the Spanish colonizer has appeared to us so much in the distorted visage of the plunderer. The plunderers of the plunderers, the English and Dutch pirates, show the same frenzied faces. The *auto da fe's* of the Inquisition, in their different proportions, appear not very different in social context from our New England witch burnings. And, finally, the Spanish slaveowner revolts against the humanitarian reforms of Las Casas were of the same order as the later North American slaveowner revolt against the threat of emancipation.

Such parallels are not drawn by Palma, who limits himself to the stories and their settings. But the parallels spring up for the American reader, in whose mind Palma's narratives, as good

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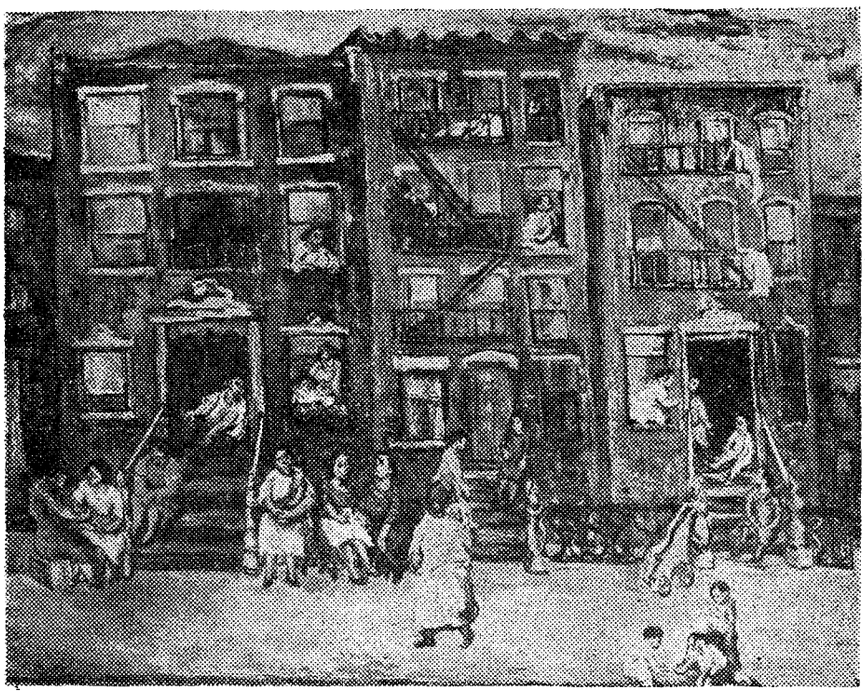

"A Place in the Sun," oil by Frank Kleinholz.

writing generally does, set up a great activity.

Gratitude is due Miss de Onis for her part in making these selections of the *Traditions* available. But I have a fault to find with one aspect of her translation. Palma's rich and supple phrasing often resorts for its bright color to the colloquial. It was no doubt almost impossible to find exact American equivalents. The obsolete slang she has dug up, in some cases, proves very flat, for nothing is staler than stale slang. And in a version like "nigger in the woodpile," which I don't think occurred in the original, a racial slur is added to the banality. At such points, and there are a few, the translation shadows rather than reveals a work of great light.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

A Marxist Voice

NO VOICE IS WHOLLY LOST, *by Harry Slochower. Creative Age Press. $3.75.*

IF ONE of the principal criteria for the evaluation of a work of this type is, as I believe it to be, the extent to which it stimulates the reader and encourages his own active grappling with the subject, then the significance of Harry Slochower's new book cannot be in doubt. *No Voice Is Wholly Lost* is one of the finest products of the two decades of application of historical materialism to literary criticism. It is a huge canvas on which the author essays the tri-dimensional portrayal of the major ideological events of our era. Commencing with Nietzsche, in whom Slochower sees "The Hindenberg Line of Individualism," we are conducted on a varied and intellectually stimulating tour through the Bohemias of Schnitzler, Huxley, and Hemingway and into the domain of doubt of such writers as Gide, Silone, Toller, Celine, and Thomas Wolfe.

"Insurgence," says Slochower, "calls forth its dialectical compensation." The common revolt against absolutes in the disparate work of the men mentioned above led to the "embrace of absolutes" by other authors, in movements as varied as the resurgence of the Catholic tradition with its idealization of the "unity" of a pre-industrial epoch; fascism, the "systematization of confusion," and Marxism, which rejects both the unchanging medieval absolute and the lawlessness of many modern notions of change. Among the representative figures dwelt upon here are Knut Hamsun, D. H. Lawrence, Hilaire Belloc, Jacques Maritain, Santayana, Proust, T. S. Eliot, Spengler, James Joyce, and the more dominant figures of Marx and Freud.

The imposing breadth of Slochower's work should not be dismissed as the product of either sophmoric ambition or professional pedantry. It is in refreshing contrast to the floods of petty monographs in its field. Genuinely disturbing, however, is the tendency to sacrifice clarity of interpretations to the seductions of phrase-making. Thus Nietzsche "affirms chaos for the promise of a dancing star" and the "success" of fascism is "the price paid for not using the art of politics and for ignoring the politics of art."

But a book that brings so much into meaningful focus could be forgiven more than that. It is deserving of careful study not only by students of literature but especially by Marxists. Slochower, using much of the best that Marxian literary criticism has developed in the past, implicitly raises the question, "Where do we go from here?"

The distinctive contribution Marxists can bring to literary criticism is to make it more of a science—the results of which are empirically verifiable and consistent with knowledge obtained from the psychological and social disciplines—and, if need be, less of an artistic recreation of the moods invoked by the author under analysis.

Evaluating Slochower's work in that light one must conclude that it demonstrates no refinement, no advance, in the conceptual instruments he employs over those used by historical materialists more than twenty years ago.

Typical interpretative comments confirm this. For example: The problem of psychological alienation is found by Slochower to be accentuated in the literature of the German romantic movement. "There, owing to relative industrial backwardness, we find a more sustained 'inner' resistance against the standardization of private values." And again, "The closed view of the naturalistic writers reflected the situation of the German petty bourgeoisie, pressed between the iron ring of big business and the gathering forces of the working class."

Obviously, Slochower accepts and applies the Marxian precept that ideology has some social basis. He has not, however, made any progress in clarifying some of the ambiguities which have always adhered to this traditional formulation. I should like to draw attention to several of these in the hope of eliciting comment from other Marxians interested in ideological analysis.

1. When an ideology is a "reflection" of a class situation does this mean that the class situation is (a) the sufficient condition of the ideology; (b) a necessary condition, or (c) most unlikely, merely in a functional interrelationship with the ideology? If, furthermore, "reflection" implies some sort of a *causal* relationship (i.e., either "a" or "b") between ideology and a social basis, does it not become necessary for us to make explicit the method of demonstrating

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cause? It should seem that causal investigation is a rigorous scientific pursuit, not equatable with an impressionistic imputation of relationships.

2. Speaking of the naturalistic writers mentioned above it will be noted that Slochower in a proper Marxian fashion does *not* specify their class status. He states that they "reflected the situation of the petty bourgeoisie," but he does not, of course, claim that they themselves were members of the petty bourgeoisie. This too, is one aspect of the customary Marxian ideological analysis. Nevertheless, it leaves a number of problems unclarified. For one, why do some writers reflect the typical mode of thought of the class to which they belong, while others do not? If adequately answered, this question should fill in one of the lacunae in Marxist theory. Our point is that Marxian critics cannot rest content with noting that an author's standpoint is at variance with the ideology of his class; they must also explain the *general* social conditions conducing to this effect, theirs must be a *theoretical* interpretation.

3. Then, too, we would like to have a clearer notion of the social functions of ideology. Unless this is understood there can be but little appreciation of why it is *retained* and incorporated into the popular consciousness. Analysis of ideologies primarily in terms of their class content refers most of all, as it is often used by Marxists, to their *origin*. But an ideology may originate for one reason and be retained for others. And it may be retained and supported by different groups for different reasons. The problem then is to articulate and clarify, from the point of view of historical materialism, criteria for the analysis of the *functions* of ideology.

If Slochower's study does not answer the questions raised above, it at least carries us to the point where their solution is both feasible and necessary.

RICHARD GRAY.

From Pre-war Poland

THE STRANGER, *by Maria Kuncewiczowa. Fischer. $2.50.*

READING *The Stranger,* one is tempted to speculate on the saying that coming events cast their shadows before them. For the book's theme might apply with accuracy to thousands of the Poles whose exile began only a short time after the original publication of this novel, and the mentality which produced it is the mentality that made a tragically large section of the Polish nation malleable in the hands of both native and foreign fascists.

Written in 1937, two years before the Nazi invasion, *The Stranger* is a study of the disintegrating influence of unbelonging upon the individual. As its main story line, it probes the viciousness and destructive genius of a woman whose profound neuroticism springs from the fact that all her life she has been an exile—born of Polish parents in exile in Czarist Russia, going "home" too late to grow roots in her own soil, isolating herself further still by the choice of a career—that of concert violinist in a time when women violinists were exotic rarities.

Rose never belonged anywhere and never could belong, and so escaped by building for herself a world of illusion, an ivory tower from which she learned effectively to sally out and wound others, but which in the end collapsed and buried her. It might be the biography of whole generations of Poland's bourgeoisie after the last partition of the country.

This is by no means to say that *The Stranger* is in any political sense a prophetic book. Although Storm Jameson, in a somewhat purple preface, tries to point out a deep symbolism in the author's intent—implying that the figure of Rose, the romantic, the temperamental, the passionate and the defeated, is the figure of Poland itself—such interpretation seems far-fetched. Its significance springs not from any conscious understanding on Mme. Kuncewiczowa's part of the society of which her heroine was a product, but rather from the very lack of any such understanding. She merely accepts this society and writes about it with photographic accuracy.

As such, *The Stranger* is as bitter and trenchant a social document as any satire. What strikes one is the hysterical quality of the writing, heightened, unfortunately, by a pitiful translation. This book is not only the story of a mentally sick person—it is a sick book. Yet in the year 1937 it was awarded the Warsaw Literary Prize—recognition comparable to the *Prix Femina*, or the Pulitzer Prize.

In that same year, remember, another of Poland's younger writers, Wanda Wasilewska, was embarrassing the critics with her indictments of conditions under the so-called Republic—conditions which a violently jingoistic intelligentsia, either fascist itself or playing into the hands of the fascists, preferred to ignore. It disposed of Wasilewska by dismissing her as a faulty technician, as indeed she often was, while Kuncewiczowa won acclaim. Kuncewiczowa's craftsmanship was excellent indeed. The flaw in her work was the total bankruptcy and shallowness of her basic material. But the shallowness and the bankrupt human values could not very well have worried the literary judges of the Warsaw of 1937. For were not the judges already themselves corrupted, along with the characters who moved through the pages of *The Stranger*, and by the same forces? Were they not the same men who, two years later, were either to run away and support the government-in-exile, or become quislings inside Poland—or at best, if they happened to be men of good will, to look on bewildered while the country went down to defeat?

To anyone knowing Polish middle and upper-class mentality, the photographic realism of *The Stranger* is striking and undeniable, even while one gratefully dismisses it as something to which the new and regenerated Poland must by now be dealing the *coup de grace*. Rose and her ilk, feeding on the glories of the past, on a false though exalted patriotism, on snobbishness and tradition, will fade out in a country whose life at last has resumed vigor and purpose. Let *The Stranger* be an epitaph to them. Any American reader who happens to be interested in understanding them as well as mourning them will do well to read it. Otherwise it can be safely classified as a period piece.

JEAN KARSAVINA.

Radio Dramatist

OBOLER OMNIBUS, *by Arch Oboler. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.50.*

IN THIS collection of one of radio's most skilled and prolific authors, all but four of the thirteen plays are on wartime themes, and most strike telling blows against fascism, both the domestic and the foreign brands. Though written to be heard, they retain much of their power in book form. In some cases the ideas have become hackneyed through overuse, but it must be remembered that when Oboler first dramatized them, they were new to radio.

The scripts are supplemented by the author's random comments on his career in radio and his penetrating observations of the limitations of radio under capitalist control. Oboler's difficulties in broadcasting anti-fascist plays illustrate the contradiction between the social nature of the medium and its domination by the few.

Despite the great need for mass anti-fascist education, the radio industry in-

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sisted on "business as usual" during the war, making concessions only under pressure. Several of Oboler's scripts were broadcast only after persistent plugging and protest. "This Precious Freedom," dramatizing the meaning of a fascist victory to America, was cleared by the radio executives only after Oboler and Raymond Massey flew to Radio City and capped their pleas by Oboler's threat to cease writing for the *Everyman's Theater* series. "The cancellation of a single play," the author drily observes, "was of small concern to the network; the potential loss of six or seven hundred thousand dollars of network time was another kettle of kilocycle fish." But such an effective argument was not always available. A speech made before the Radio Institute at Ohio State University, in which Oboler attacked the laxity and "neutrality" of radio in wartime, was punished by the abrupt termination of his *Plays for Americans* series. This time even the intervention of famous Hollywood personalities failed.

The publishers blurb Oboler as "radio's most distinguished playwright." But Norman Corwin, the late Stephen Vincent Benet, Archibald MacLeish and others have explored the poetic and dramatic possibilities of radio with a maturity of thought and an originality and intensity of style that Oboler fails to reach. Too often, his writing is superficial, his philosophical speculations adolescent, his occasional attempts at poetry banal. ("Beautiful, that the hands of the sisters, Death and Night, incessantly, softly wash again and ever again, this soiled world.") His technical facility sometimes betrays him into using a device beyond the point of diminishing returns.

Nevertheless, Oboler's contribution is substantial. He is a master in the art of suggesting the visual via the aural. In a few strokes, he can project a windy, deserted Manhattan ("The Word"), or an eerie world of rebellious immortals ("The Immortal Gentleman"). And he makes constant artistic use of the radio medium as a weapon against fascism. He has measured up to the criterion he sets for contemporary art: "The duty of the artist, in times of national crisis, is to translate his talents into the largest possible area of understanding." That Oboler and other gifted radio writers have been able to achieve this goal only in a limited and distorted way is to the everlasting shame of the radio monopolists.

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Cacao-Rush

THE VIOLENT LAND, *by Jorge Amado, translated by Samuel Putnam. Knopf. $2.50.*

IF YOU are one of those who are unaware that there is a common American continental experience, read this story of the opening up of southern Bahai, Brazil, in the "Cacao-rush." This book is an experience in recognition of the common accent, experience and hope between North and South America.

The run of the mill novel of South America always seems to stress peculiarities and differences in the people and their experience, but the *Violent Land* —and surely this must be attributed in part to the translation of Mr. Putnam— makes you feel these are our people and that our national experience is the common experience of both—the landing on a new continent, developing it swiftly, fighting the same enemies, hoping the same hopes, having the same love for land and freedom.

The bloody struggle told in the story, waged by two predatory owners over the bodies of workers and small farmers, for an area of virgin forest which they hope to convert into rich cacao land, reminds one of our gold rushes, the bonanza wheat farms, the ruthless and often bloody fights over timber. The money octopus is the same in South America—the aspirations of people for a small security is the same.

In Amado's book the great forest swallows them all, exploiter and exploited; and after the two protagonists devour each other, greater octopi take over the forest, strewn with its fighting dead.

Cacao at last will be planted, and the vast riches reaped from it will be enjoyed in drawing rooms not only in South America but in North America as well.

The author, Jorge Amado, has been part of the life of his country. He has not got his material from barflies or drawing room gossips. He starts his book with the explanation that he tackled this huge theme of the development of cacao nine years ago, when he was nineteen, and now returns to it. In those ten years he wrote seven novels and two biographies, the subject of one of which was the great Brazilian political figure, Luiz Carlos Prestes, a book which we hope Mr. Putnam will soon translate. "I carried on the daily struggle," he says, "I travelled, I made speeches, I had my books seized and burned, I came to know the inside of prisons. I was obliged to live in foreign lands. I lived the life of my people. I am exceedingly happy to note that there is an unbroken thread of unity which pervades, not only the work that I did during this decade, but the life I led as well; the hope—more than the hope, the certainty—that tomorrow's day will be a better and a fairer one. It is in the service of this tomorrow, whose dawn is already breaking over the night of war on the battlefields of eastern Europe that I have lived and written."

One cannot help but feel that a different unanimity of purpose and growth would exist between the North and South Americas were such novels as this widely read. As a matter of truth, there probably has never been a continent in all history with such a common experience as the Americas, in which so great a number of living men share a common memory of their inceptions, of their struggle, and a history within the memory of living men. To communicate the body of this knowledge is surely one of the tasks of the coming time; and it is well served by the publication of this absorbing and important novel.

MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

Up in Canada

LEFT TURN, CANADA, *by M. J. Coldwell. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.75.*
CANADA: NEW WORLD POWER, *by Louisa W. Peat. McBride. $3.*

THE only large Social Democratic party on the continent, the Canadian CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) deserves study. *Left Turn, Canada* by the CCF leader, the colorless schoolteacher M. J. Coldwell, outlines the history and views of that party for Americans. The book was written in expectation of spectacular victory in the summer election which failed to materialize.

In brief, it is a story of Social Democratic intellectuals of the Norman Thomas type, allied to reform liberals, and resting on the long-simmering agrarian rebelliousness of the Canadian West, with some hold in the top circles of a number of trade unions. While the CCF started in the midst of the economic crisis of the thirties (to counteract the Communists, Coldwell confesses) with the aim of becoming a right-wing farmer-labor party, it has become a hidebound parliamentary machine with only a handful of unions affiliated to it—affiliated not in the British Labor Party sense but only in "advisory" capacity.

Its program calls for a nationalization

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of banks and industries, a state capitalism presented as "socialism." Mr. Coldwell in his book carefully avoids giving vent to his anti-Sovietism but does not find it so necessary to be restrained in his phobia against Communists or any unity with them. As the wit has it, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is neither a federation nor is it cooperative.

Americans should know more about their northern neighbor, but the gems of information contained in Louisa W. Peat's *Canada, New World Power* are lost in a sea of mud. Mrs. Peat has gone slumming across Canada and gushes in a most embarrassing manner about everything Canadian. Her figures about Canada's amazing economic growth are good (although a few boners are strewn about), but they are available free from gush in the Canada Year Book and numerous government publications. Her appraisal of the French-English problem, Canadian history, politics and labor is proof that Babbitry is not dead—on either side of the border. A serious book on Canada for Americans is still wanting.

A. BOLSON.

Recipe for Publication

INTERVAL IN CAROLINA, *by William Miller Abrahams. Simon & Schuster. $2.*

HERE's one of the ways to hit the present market for new writers: Go to Harvard. Graduate from Harvard. Get drafted. Then get yourself sent to Martinsville, Carolina, for six weeks, and after that to a port of embarkation.

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Paint yourself as a heel, then show your creative honesty by making your antagonist call you a heel. That is supposed to take the curse off the fact that you really *are* a heel. When stuck for an effect, remember your readings in Henry James, T. S. Eliot, and especially Edmund Wilson's "I Thought of Daisy."

You won't have much of a story, but you will be able to prove you can write acceptable if naively mannered prose. Most of all, you will have persuaded the Venture Press that you are a promising new writer.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

FILMS OF THE WEEK

By JOSEPH FOSTER

WHENEVER Hollywood makes an honest effort to understand the concerns of the people, the result is a first-rate film. *Pride of the Marines* (Strand) and *The Southerner* (Globe) are evidence of that fact. Unfortunately it happens too seldom and the rest of the time the movie houses must inflict on us *You Came Along, Along Came Jones, Blood on the Sun, Incendiary Blonde, Love Letters, Christmas in Connecticut, Out of This World* and other such examples of man's inhumanity to man.

Pride of the Marines is superior to *GI Joe, Walk in the Sun* and *Objective Burma,* the best previously made pictures on the American GI. Here, for the first time, the soldier discusses the problems on his mind. He is not concerned exclusively with sore feet, his girl, his CO's lack of heart, but with what is going to happen to him, the citizen in the postwar world. We hear talk of full employment, the GI Bill of Rights, discrimination, organization to achieve a world in which "no one will be booted about." Offhand you would gather that the film contains more talk than action. In a literal sense that is true, but the dialogue is so well handled, the issues so skillfully presented in terms of medium, that it has the flow of an action film.

Thematically, *Pride* deals with the military biography of Al Schmidt, the Philadelphia Marine who was blinded at Guadalcanal, and who was awarded the Congressional Medal for having killed 200 of the enemy. Before his enlistment, the movie Schmidt was a war plant worker, cocky, aggressive, full of confidence. Out of his blindness come the dramatic tensions of the film. For Schmidt, the self-sufficient, is no longer so. He now regards himself as a helpless ward of society, a drag on his friends, faced with a meaningless future. It requires tact and patience and understanding to rehabilitate this blind Marine to an almost normal acceptance of life. This process the film handles incomparably well, except for occasional lapses into dramatic formula and for the shortcoming that at no point is the relationship of the rehabilitated soldier to the government program made sufficiently clear. Schmidt's feeling that he was a recipient of charity could have been mitigated somewhat by referring to the fact that the government has an obligation towards the wounded veteran, and that the program of rehabilitation is as much earned as his paycheck. As a matter of fact in actual life Schmidt has shown more understanding of the problems under discussion. Recently he made a speech at an American Youth for Democracy dinner in which he stressed the need for unity of Negro and white, civilian and veteran, Jew and Catholic, to defeat the enemy at home.

But these are small errors beside the gratifying accomplishments of the film. The *dramatis personae* of *Pride* are believable people. The film's arguments and problems go down so easily because the characters live them. Even the battle scenes around Henderson Field break the conventional mold for such business. The boys are excited and nervous and full of an unexpressed fear. They jabber and reassure each other continually. They shout warnings and instructions all through the battle. The traditional fighter, steeled, imperturbable, machine-like, the taciturn mower-downer, is absent, and the change in treatment is a welcome one.

Albert Maltz's script is a brilliant job. John Garfield probably caps his career as Al Schmidt, and Delmar Daves, the director, makes the most of the story. Eleanor Parker, Schmidt's girl friend, has lost none of the freshness that characterized her introduction into pictures. Her unhackneyed charm makes the glamor girl take a seat way in back of the room.

Charles Nakata

"THE SOUTHERNER," while not as successful in its category as *Pride of the Marines,* is nevertheless the most honest film that Hollywood has yet made of the South. Dealing with the hardships of the cotton sharecropper, it reminds us, although the Negro farmer is absent, that the South is still the nation's Number One sore spot. The film reveals in adult fashion the bleak, incredible poverty against which this farmer and his family struggle. No well-fed Iowa hog would think of living in the ramshackle, slatted shack in which they are housed. Hunger and endless toil and pellagra are with them throughout their days. It is difficult to imagine a life without fruit or vegetables or milk; but the boy of the family must suffer the "spring fever" because these commodities, needed for his cure, are unavailable.

Technically, the film is beautifully made, possessing a well-simulated documentary integument. It achieves this by a skillful meshing of studio and location shots, and by a fine job of cutting and editing. In this respect it succeeds where so many films fail, especially those films that have a realistic theme set in unreal backgrounds. And this surface realism makes the acting seem spontaneous and natural.

Yet for all its excellent qualities, the picture fails in one serious respect. The chief enemies of the farmer appear to be nature and a sour, disgruntled neighbor. When our protagonist licks all his obstacles, and the crop appears well on its way, a cloudburst and a rising river wipe him out again. All his misfortunes are Job-like visitations. He has never heard of flood control—nor, apparently, have the authors. But more than that, the implication seems fixed that, but for these acts of God, the farmer's troubles would be over. What happens to the sharecropper, after he pays off the boss-man in cotton for the land, and after he pays for his borrowed tools and mules, his seeds and other implements that he secured on credit, the film never hints.

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As the picture now stands, it is an excellent introduction to the subject. A sequel should deal with the cropper's historic background, and relate the fact that he has organized to overcome his miseries. It should place the proper share of the blame for his difficulties on the economic system of the South.

Jean Renoir, the sensitive French director who came to this country to escape the Nazis, co-adapted the script from the George Perry Sessions novel, *Hold Autumn in Your Hand*. He also directed the film in masterly fashion, keeping unerring control of his subject all the way. The acting of Beulah Bondy as the crotchety grandmother, Zachary Scott as the farmer and Betty Field as his wife, profit much from his fine work.

It is not to be wondered at that this film was banned (temporarily) by the state of Tennessee and that there is talk of other Southern communities taking similar action. The official excuse is that *The Southerner* misrepresented the Southern farmer. I suspect that the real reason lies in their shame (or, perhaps, embarrassment) over having the conditions of their farm communities exposed so frankly to the world.

Records

Now that the war emergencies are over it is to be hoped that the recording companies will prove more responsible to their public than they have in the past few years and will produce again recorded music of worth and originality. The amount of duplication which goes on is really unconscionable; while new compositions by younger composers rarely obtain the hearing they would get if the recording companies were more enterprising and had any serious interest in art.

Take Gershwin, for example. Gershwin was a talented composer; but is it necessary, despite the festival fanfare, to have so much of him recorded, and all at once? You can get your Gershwin in any form you want; you can even get *Porgy and Bess* as a pretentious *Symphonic Picture for Orchestra* by Russell Bennett, recorded by the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra under Fabien Sevitzky (Victor DM-999, three twelve-inch records). But I prefer the selections Charlie Spivak gives us—especially his brilliant trumpet playing (Victor SP-6, two ten-inch records)—or Dinah Shore's sweet-throated and unassuming performance of four Gershwin Show Hits (Victor SP-5, two ten-inch records): *Do it Again, Someone to Watch Over Me, The Man I Love,* and *Love Walked In*. Arthur Fiedler, the Boston "Pops" Orchestra and Jesus Sanroma, pianist, do a good job with the *Rhapsody in Blue* (Victor SP-3, two twelve-inch records).

Or take the so-called Vladimor Horowitz *Program* (Victor DM-1001, three twelve-inch records). Whatever prompted either Victor or Mr. Horowitz to waste good materials and talent on such trifles as Saint-Saens' *Danse Macabre*, Tschaikovsky's *Dumka*, and Czerny's *Variations on the Aria "La Ricordanza"* —prettily played though they are—when the brilliant new Prokofieff sonata, which Horowitz performs in such a masterly way, remains unrecorded?

Of the recordings of the last few weeks, Arthur Rubinstein's performances are to be recommended. He is represented by two albums: *The Piano Music of Debussy* (Victor DM-998, three twelve-inch records), which includes *Soiree dans Grenade, Jardin Sous la Pluie, Reflets Dans l'Eau, Hommage a Rameau, Poissons d'Or,* and *La Plus Que Lente Valse*. These are played with intelligence and delicacy and, happily, without over-refinement. The other work, Cesar Franck's *Prelude, Chorale and Fugue* (Victor DM-1004, two twelve-inch records) is excellent in every respect. It is distinguished by dignity and restraint, without being pedantic—and avoids the sentimentalism with which Franck is so often performed.

For some reason that arch-lickspittle of the Nazis, Richard Strauss (for whose early talents, nevertheless, I have a nostalgic regard) is found deserving of two albums. Stokowski and the New York City Symphony Orchestra give us *Death and Transfiguration*, a lush and now faded piece of orchestration. Considering the youth of the orchestra, the performance is very good indeed. The start is a little uncertain, but the work improves as it goes along. The string section, though rich, is not forced unduly, in the usual Stokowski manner, and the general tone balance is excellent. The *Rosenkavalier Suite*, arranged by Antal Dorati and performed by the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra under Eugene Goossens, though scarcely representative of the entire opera, is a beautiful job. The lovely waltz-themes, which still form the most gracious portion of the work, are cleverly combined by the arranger, and beautifully played by the orchestra. And they sound as sweetly decadent as ever.

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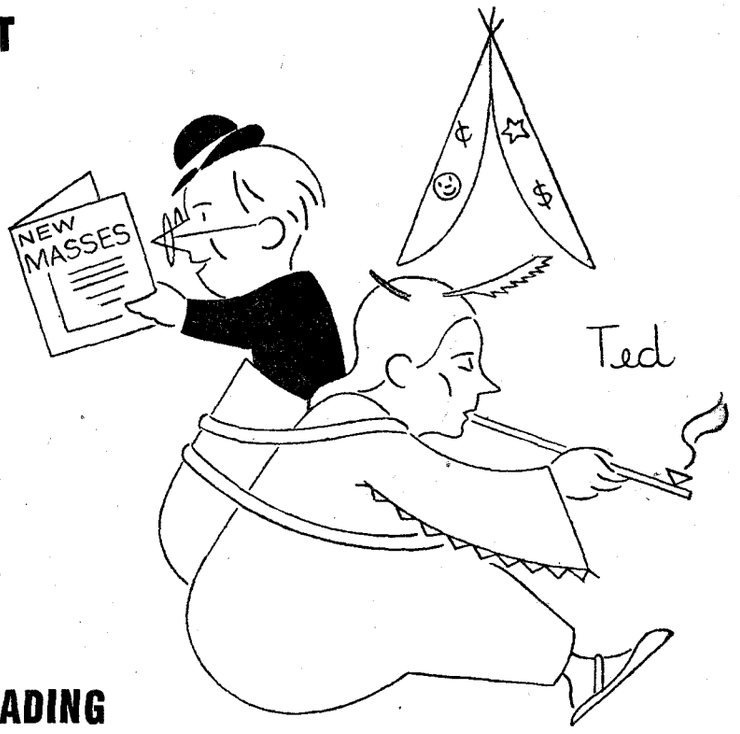

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